DAILY REPORT

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PRAVDA TRUMPETS SOVIET PEACE INITIATIVES

PM011414 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 83 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Loyalty to the Cause of Peace"]

[Text] The present new academic year in Soviet schools begins with a peace lesson. That is profoundly symbolic for a country whose first act of legislation was Lenin's decree on peace.

Peace is the ideal of socialism. Generations of Soviet people have been educated and continue to be educated in this spirit. The peace lesson too will discuss the main right of all human rights -- the right to life -- and the determination of the CPSU, the Soviet state, and all our people to preserve the earth from a thermonuclear catastrophe. The evidence of the sufferings which war entails -- pages from the diary of little Tanya Savicheva from Leningrad, written inside the siege, the paper cranes made by (Sadako Sasaki), a young Japanese girl who survived the nightmare of the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima but died a few years later from radiation sickness -- is about to enter, invisibly as it were, millions of classrooms full of children.

The date 1 September is a tragic page in the historical calander. It was 44 years ago that Hitler's Germany unleashed World War II. It was the bloodiest of all wars. Our people had to sacrifice 20 million lives on the altar of victory over fascism. The losses of many other peoples were also great. And although the life of an entire generation spearates mankind from that evil time, people clearly remember the past and do not want a repetition of the devastation and suffering.

But the stern lesson of history was not a lesson to imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism. Now across the ocean they are obsessed with insane plans for a "limited," "victorious," and suchlike nuclear war. Seeking the deployment of its new nuclear missiles in West Europe, the United States is trying to achieve military superiority over the USSR and its allies. Hence the mounting threat to peace.

The European peoples who experienced the conflagration of two world wars cannot fail to realize the danger of this turn of events. They are fully determined to halt the slide toward the fatal threshold. That is why millions of people are now protesting against the missile ambitions of Washington and NATO. Beginning their fall peace offensive on the first day of September, the peoples are opposing those who are encroaching on man's future.

Every day they live convinces the peoples that peace on the planet is preserved primarily thanks to the firm and consistent policy of the Soviet state and the other socialist community countries. Our motherland's working people warmly and unanimously approve and support the course of Lenin's party embodied in the Peace Program for the Eighties adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress and implemented in the USSR's new peace initiatives.

As Comrade Yu.V. Andropov noted recently, "In the foreign policy sphere the USSR sees its main goal in strengthening peace and international security and ensuring a tranquil life for the peoples, primarily through averting the threat of nuclear war. It will con-continue to act persistently and consistently here, displaying readiness for fruitful mutually advantageous cooperation and collaboration with all states, including the United States."

Everywhere on earth people of goodwill are now welcoming the readiness voiced by the Soviet Union to accomplish one more major step to find a way out at the Geneva talks, to facilitate the reaching of an agreement there, and to thus prevent another, extraordinarily dangerous spiral of the nuclear arms race in Europe. If a mutually acceptable agreement is reached, including U.S. renunciation of the deployment of new missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union, in reducing its own medium-range missiles in the European part of the country to a level equal to the number of missiles in the possession of Britain and France would liquidate all the reduced missiles. The importance of this new manifestation of goodwill by the Soviet Union is exceptionally great. This step incorporates genuine unity of word and deed and can with full justification be called a peace lesson.

It is time the U.S. leaders abandoned their "game without rules" and stopped shuffling the cards unfairly. "Flexibility" U.S.-style and the manipulation of the "zero" and "interim" options have been detected and debunked. Whether there is to be a buildup of nuclear powder kegs on European soil or not -- the responsibility for this, as well as for the entire outcome of the Geneva talks, rests with the United States.

The peoples understand increasingly well that the time has come for vigorous and resolute action. Today a day of trade union action for peace is being marked all across the planet. The working class has always been the leading detachment of the mass antiwar movement. With them today representatives of all social strata, people adhering to the most diverse political views, will be going to rallies and demonstrations on all the continents. Now all peoples and all states on earth have a single common interest. It consits primarily in defending peace and preventing the catastrophe of a new world war, a nuclear missile war whose consequences for mankind are hard even to imagine in full.

In the Soviet land the day of trade union action will be held under the sign of the tireless struggle for peace and disarmament and will be marked by workers' peace stints and the consolidation of working people's international solidarity. Antiwar meetings will be held today in Moscow and many of our cities. Addressing their class brothers abroad, Soviet working people call on them for united action. It is to be expected that this appeal will be heard and taken up in other countries.

The common sense, boldness, and persistence of hundreds of millions of people will become a powerful obstacle in the way of implementing the dangerous, adventurist aspirations of the aggressive forces of imperialism headed by the United States. Their militarist course is countered by the peace-loving policy and might of the Soviet Union and all the socialist community states. The authoritative force that is the nonaligned movement opposes the arms race lashed on by Washington. The unprecedentedly large-scale antiwar, antimissile movement launched in all countries and on all continents will not tolerate the policy of nuclear madness pursued by the United States and NATO either.

The lofty goal of defending peace unites the efforts of millions. Historical experience teaches the peoples that they cannot beg for peace. They must defend it. They must struggle for it.

ARBATOV INTERVIEWED ON SOVIET INF PROPOSALS

LD012219 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 1 Sep 83

[Interview with Georgiy Arkadiyevich Arbatov, director of the Institute of the USA and Canada of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by political observer Boris Kalyagin under the title "A Sure Step on the Path Toward Peace"; date and place not given -- live or recorded]

[Text] [Kalyagin] Georgiy Arkadiyevich, how for do you consider that the new Soviet initiative set forth by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov can help ease along the talks in Geneva on medium-range means in Europe?

[Arbatov] If the American side really wants an accord, then it seems to me that the new proposals by the Soviet Union have in practice removed all obstacles to such an accord. Talks are always an affair in which two sides participate, and here it depends on what the other side really wants. I think that it is becoming clear even to sceptics that the USSR wants to find the possibility of a mutually acceptable decision; but what the other side wants is not clear at the moment. And I think that the reaction of the other side, that is, the United States, to the latest Soviet proposal will to a large extent make clear its intention. We might have our suspicions -- I certainly have -- about what it wants from these talks, but now this should become clear to the whole world, whether it wants accord or whether participating in the talks is just a means to in some way legalize its aggressive policy, to legalize its military moves in the eyes of the world public and to remove and undermine the opposition being shown in these plans in Western Europe and to a certain extent in the United States.

Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov said in his interview that our position is flexible but all flexibility has a limit. And if they want us to capitulate, then their efforts are in vain, as the saying goes. We have gone a long way and it seems to me that now the new aspect of the situation is that the latest Soviet proposals have washed away the ground from under the NATO decision. The NATO decision adopted in December 1979 argued for the necessity of deploying U.S. missiles in Europe particularly on the grounds that SS-20 had appeared and that if matters proceeded further in that manner and if their number increased, then the USSR would achieve superiority in Europe.

And now we have come forward with a proposal. The most important thing lies in the fact that now we are proposing to reduce our medium-range missiles to a number that would be less, both for carriers and for individual warheads, however you count them, than the USSR had in 1976, before the first SS-20 appeared, before, in fact, all the hullabaloo was raised in NATO about the so-called increased armament.

I have a book here. It is the yearbook of Stockhold International Peace Research Institute dealing with arms and disarmament and it very accurately illustrates all events of the year. It is the yearbook for 1976. It does not even mention Soviet medium-range means. That shows how much anyone worried at that time in the West.

And now, when these proposals have been made, the West's position is becoming very complicated. One can distort a lot, invent a lot, but a very cunning device is needed here to hide the main fact that the USSR agrees to have less medium-range means however they are counted, for carriers and for warheads, than it had in 1976.

[Kalvagin] Western figures continue to repeat that we should not take into account the French and British missiles. They say that if we do not take them into account then the question would be settled. What do you say to that?

[Arbatov] That is just a trick. The NATO two-track decision did not talk about U.S. missiles; it talked about Western medium-range means. The British missiles are even targeted from the command center in Omaha, Nebraska. The French missiles are also a part of NATO. Even though France has left the NATO military organization, it has undertaken to participate in all of NATO's military actions; even before this military organization was created, France signed the NATO treaty which still remains in force. All of this is an unconvincing trick. And we are correct to pose the issue thus -- it is elementary logic -- that the means of one side should balance the means of the other side. A portion of our medium-range missiles balance the means that Britain and France have.

Strictly speaking, we cannot negotiate with the Americans to decide something for France and Britain. They are sovereign countries and we do not intend to do it. But those means of ours which balance theirs should not be subject to our discussions with the Americans. The same applies to those means that we have in the Far East. All the rest we are prepared to discuss with the Americans and to discuss any variant, any proposal, including the notorious zero option. But this should be a real zero option; that is, we agree not to have anything more than the means that balance the existing means which have clearly been set up against the USSR.

[Kalyagin] And our proposals promote the relaxation of tension not only on the European Continent but can also help to reduce tension in Asia and the Far East.

[Arbatov] Of course, yes. They are a very important step in this direction because the very idea of talks on limiting medium-range means in Europe as well as the Soviet proposals discredit the allegation that the USSR wishes to deploy in a different part of the country the means that would be reduced in Europe. Of course, they would like to drive a wedge into our relations with China and Japan. Now we have given a clear reply to that question. I think that this opens up the way to involve China and Japan in talks on the questions of security and disarmament sometime in the future and this is inevitable and very important.

[Kalyagin] One more question. Of late the U.S. press and some West European newspapers have expressed the belief that a reduction in tension has now been noted in relations between the United States of America and the USSR. What do you think?

[Arbatov] Well, you know, the very fact that this has begun to be talked about in America, by officials, shows how times have changed. At first, properly speaking, the U.S. Government boasted that it had managed to increase and intensify tension with the USSR. Only when it saw how badly the public in Western Europe and in the United States of America itself reacted to this -- and it is understandable, since they say this is a source of the growth of the threat of war -- it was only after this that the U.S. Administration began to change. So far it has only changed its words. If the opposition should grow sufficiently for it to change its deeds as well, that would not be bad. But so far we are dealing with very persistent, not very crafty, but sufficiently consistent demagogy, whereby they assert that they are holding talks wholeheartedly and so on and try to give the impression that there is progress at these talks on limiting armaments even though, unfortunately, there is no progress.

So up to now we encounter only this. And this is being further complicated by the approaching election campaign in the United States of America. So far we encounter only propaganda which is being used in the attempt to muddle the real state of affairs. It would be good if matters did not stop here and if the administration really changed its position. But whether or not this will happen only future events will show.

'LACK OF FLEXIBILITY' AT INF TALKS REFUTED

LD011922 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 1 Sep 83

["Untenable Position" -- TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS -- TASS political news analyst Vladimir Serov writes:

Speaking on a program of West German television, Bonn's Defense Minister Woerner has charged that the Soviet Union shows "no flexibility" on the problem of counting British and French nuclear systems, that is, insists on their being counted in the overall balance of forces in Europe. A similar stand was taken by West German Foreign Minister Genscher, who was upholding again the notorious "zero" and "intermediate" options formulated by U.S. President Reagan.

As far as "flexibility" goes, it is Washington and its closest NATO allies, including Bonn, that do not show it as they stubbornly cling to the untenable argument that the British and French nuclear forces should not be counted because Britain and France do not participate in the Geneva talks, while their nuclear forces are presumably "independent," "purely national" and, moreover, so "insignificant" there is nothing to talk about.

Neither argument stands up to criticism. Officials documents of the North Atlantic alliance have pointed out on more than one occasion that the nuclear forces of Britain and France (although the latter formally is not a member of the military wing of the alliance) are an inalienable component of the alliance's potential. For instance, a declaration on Atlantic relations adopted on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of NATO stresses that the British and French forces contribute to the overall enhancement of the deterrence potential of the alliance.

Mr Woerner himself has stated in an interview to the Deutsche Welle radio station that in case of an armed conflict France will beyond all doubt be on NATO's side from the early seconds of the conflict. LE MONDE of France has reported that there is an agreement with the United States and Britain on the deployment of additional French nuclear systems against the USSR in parallel with NATO's corresponding "rearmament" programs.

It is only during the past few years, in connection with the Geneva talks on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe, that the West is deliberately trying to obscure this issue. It has now come to light that as far back as 1979, before NATO took its "missile decision," the leaders of the United States and other major NATO countries had reached agreement at a conference in Guadeloupe that the United States would enter the Geneva talks alone in order to exclude from the count the British and French nuclear weapons under the pretext of the talks being bilateral and to float the falsehood about "Soviet missile monopoly" in Europe.

The "argument" that the British and French nuclear forces are "insignificant" also is intended for the gullible. Suffice it to say that the medium-range systems of those countries are capable of delivering to target 4,500 km away a total of more than 600 nuclear warheads in one launch. The British Government's white paper explicitly states that the British nuclear forces are capable of inflicting such damage on the USSR that the Soviet leaders should reckon with them. Meanwhile, both Britain and France continue to build up their nuclear potential both quantitatively and qualitatively. How then can the Soviet Union ignore this strong potential directed against it? Or else, isn't it clear that "lack of flexibility" on the problem of counting these forces is demonstrated by Washington and its closest allies rather than by the Soviet Union?

U.S., SOVIET STANCES ON EVE OF INF ROUND VIEWED

LD011455 Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 1 Sep 83

[Text] On 6 September a new round of Soviet-American talks on limiting nuclear arms in Europe will open in Geneva. Yuriy Kornilov, an observer of the Soviet news agency TASS, has this comment.

The new round is expected to be a crucial one. The Soviet Union demonstrates a consistent and at the same time flexible approach at the talks based on the principle of equality and equal security of the sides. This approach was reaffirmed recently in the replies of the Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov to questions from the Soviet national daily PRAVDA. Observers emphasize the importance of the new initiative of the Soviet Union, which announced that should a mutually acceptable agreement be reached at the talks it would be ready to abolish all the intermediary range missiles subject to cuts in the European part of the country, including the most up to date missiles known in the West as SS-20's.

The American side demonstrates an entirely different approach. Washington, bent on using force and breaking the military and strategic parity existing between the Soviet Union and NATO, continues, in defiance of common sense, demanding a unilateral disarmament from the Soviet Union. The ultimate goal of the United States is to cut with a nuclear sword the very foundations of the relaxation process and turn the western part of the European Continent into an American nuclear hostage, a testing ground for the concept of the limited nuclear war developed in Washington.

There has not yet been invented a gun which can be made shooting only in one direction, so much as (?there) are none and there can be no launching systems which can be made sending missiles with nuclear warheads only in one direction, to the east. It's true that Pershings, for which NATO hawks are already preparing launching sites in West Germany and other NATO countries in Europe, can reach Moscow or Leningrad, but it's also true that the same Pershings launched from the same launching pads can also reach northern Africa or the Middle East.

There is one more aspect that should not be overlooked. Should new American missiles be deployed in Western Europe this would objectively amount, apart from everything else, to the encouragement of American militarist ambitions, to the creation of a kind of precedent. There is no guarantee that, after Western Europe, the Reagan team would not decide to deploy its nuclear weapons in other parts of the world. One has every reason to believe that this assumption is based on serious grounds.

The Geneva talks can be made a success provided the United States shows a genuine interest in reaching an honest agreement on the equitable basis. It remains to be seen, however, whether Washington will display such an interest or will continue insisting on the absolutely unacceptable zero option, the meaning of which is zero missiles for the Soviet Union and zero cuts for NATO.

BOVIN VIEWS ARMS TALKS ON WW II ANNIVERSARY DATE

LD011415 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1145 GMT 1 Sep 83

["Topical Problems of International Life," by Aleksandr Bovin]

[Text] Hello, comrades. Today we are talking about a tragic date in the history of mankind, 1 September 1939. On the morning of that day the fascists, the German fascists, attacked Poland. Hitler knew that France and Britain had given guarantees to Poland, they had said that if Hitler attacked Poland then they would declare war on Germany. But the thing was that Hitler did not believe this threat. He put it this way: I got to know those wretched worms, Daladier and Chamberlain -- Daladier and Chamberlain were then the prime ministers of France and Britain -- I got to know those wretched worms in Munich. They are too cowardly to attack. It must be said that Chamberlain and Daladier had earned this description, had earned it by their policy of appeasement of the aggressor, had earned by their treachery to Austria and Czechoslovakia. And so the war started.

The Germans attacked Poland while in London and Paris a tragicomedy was being played out; it can be described as such. Chamberlain did not want to declare war on Germany. One September passed, 2 September came, and a sort of unprecedented event took place: Five ministers in the British Government went on strike. They locked themselves up in a room in the House of Commons and said that until Chamberlain declares war on Hitler we will not come out of this room. Scandal! The cabinet met at night, and finally in the morning, only in the morning of 3 September at 0900 an ultimatum was sent to Hitler with a demand to withdraw his troops from Poland and end the war. The ultimatum expired at 1100. Naturally, Germany did not reply to the ultimatum, and at 1115 on 3 September Chamberlain spoke on radio and stated that Britain was declaring war on Germany, this being done in such a tone that Eden, the well-known British figure who was later prime minister of Britain, said that it resembled more the weeping of a person grieving for his own failure than a call to the people to arms.

That is how the World War II started. But today, today I should like to talk not so much about history as about what lessons should be drawn from history, what lessons we should draw, we who are living in 1983. In principle, comrades, it is not too easy to draw lessons from history. The well-known German philosopher Hegel once said: The only lesson which can be drawn from history is that people never have drawn any lessons from history. Well, of course, that may be an exaggeration. But there is a well-known idea here, because one can model the behavior of states and peoples on the behavior -- conditionally, of course -- of individual people.

Let us take, for instance, parents and children. One would think that a parent has accumulated a lot of experience, and it would be the simplest thing in the world to teach the children that experience. But they take their own knocks, and for some reason it is only by their own knocks that they learn. And that is how things also happen in the history of states and peoples. Mistakes, unfortunately, are repeated, despite the fact that they could be considered as lessons. But nevertheless, all the same, there is some point in talking, even with all these reservations, about the lessons of history. And specifically, in this case, the main lesson that we should draw from all this is that we cannot repeat the start of a war.

We cannot allow a war, a third world war, to start. This, in my view, is the main lesson which must be drawn from the events of the past. Moreover, comrades, the nuclear age in which we live, the nuclear-missile age, calls for a completely new level of thinking compared to that which existed at the start of the World War II. It requires completely different approaches to the problem of war and peace. Let us go further: The first step of an aggressor who started a war used to be punished by his own defeat. Full stop. But nowadays, we cannot have such a full stop, because the enormous destructive weapons which have now been stockpiled and the enormous, even unimaginable, destruction which a thermonuclear war could bring, all of this in essence rubs out the difference between the victor and the vanquished. As they say, the one who starts it will be the second to perish. And consequently there remains the only way out, the only rational way out; that is, to prevent such a war, not to allow the start of a third world war. And all our policy, the whole policy of the Soviet Union and of the CPSU, is precisely subordinated to this requirement, to prevent a third world war.

Well, what does this mean in practice? In practice it means that we must be sufficiently strong, first of all, so that a potential aggressor, a country which may be, and would like to be, an aggressor, should be perfectly well aware that under the given correlation of forces an act of aggression is equivalent to suicide. This is what it is all about. And consequently, in today's conditions, a military strategic parity is the main guarantee of maintaining peace, the main guarantee of preventing a world war. And it is precisely for this reason that there is at present a fierce struggle over the nuclear missile strategic parity, which is now the (?pivot) of world policy. What is the essence of the U.S. policy of Reagan's America? It consists of smashing by any means it thinks fit, of bypassing this military strategic parity, and bursting ahead, achieving superiority over the Soviet Union.

And then, American strategists argue, if such superiority is achieved, then it is not so far from winning a thermonuclear war, from emerging victorious from such a war. This is typical -- of course, I am simplifying -- but in general this is how one can sum up the essence of American policy; whereas the essence of our policy is to maintain this parity, to maintain the approximate equality of forces between us and the Americans, and to come gradually to a reduction of this level, but in such a way that during every specific period of time this parity would be maintained. This is our principled approach.

Well, of course, it is easy to say this, but very difficult to achieve it, because, as you know, at present the most conservative, the most reactionary factions of the American bourgeoisies have come to power in America; they have rejected detente, have taken a course of attaining this superiority I was talking about. And so, of course, it is very difficult for us to negotiate with our partners. You all know the situation in Geneva and the talks on Euroweapons and the talks on central strategic systems -- there is deadlock everywhere. Well, it is true that the Americans are now expressing themselves fairly optimistically at times, saying that there is progress, that there are moves of some sort. They need this optimism, because the elections are coming, and Reagan is trying to earn some extra points. But we can take a realistic view of things. So far, unfortunately, there are no moves there at all, and the deadlock continues.

Of course, at present it is hard to say how long this deadlock will continue. In any event, frankly, I have the impression that as long as Reagan is in the White House we will find it very, very difficult to reach agreement. But still, comrades, we shall not lose our optimism. We have on our side, in the first place, our strength from our allies, the socialist countries. On our side is the enormous anti-war movement, which now involves increasing masses of people. We also have with us the common sense of many bourgeois politicians also, who understand what a third world war would be like. And this world anti-war coalition, as it may be termed, will naturally grow broader and stronger. And this is the main thing: All these factors I mentioned, these main factors allow us to hope and believe that it will be possible to prevent war. And I want to repeat again that the struggle for this is the main lesson that we can draw from history and the beginning of World War II. Thank you for your attention.

CRITICISM OF U.S. MILITARIZATION OF SPACE CITED

LD012106 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 1 Sep 83

[From "The World Today" program presented by political observer Igor Fesunenko]

[Text] THE NEW YORK TIMES has come out with criticism of Washington's program for the militarization of space. The Soviet Union, writes the daily, is actively working to restrain the arms race, including in space. Its efforts in this area are good, and may be the last chance to prevent the transfer of military confrontation into space. The USSR proposal to liquidate the existing anti-satellite systems and to ban the creation of new ones will be directed toward this end. This prospect of stopping the militarization of space, says THE NEW YORK TIMES article, is a chance that cannot be missed.

SOCIALIST DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFER

LD020356 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 2 Sep 83

[Text] A conference of deputy ministers of foreign affairs of Belorussia, Bulgaria, Hungary, the SRV, the GDR, the DPRK, Cuba, the LPDR, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, the Ukraine and Czechoslovakia took place from 30 August to 1 September in Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The participants in the conference exchanged opinions on questions concerning the agenda of the forthcoming 38th UN General Assembly session. Representatives of the CEMA secretariat also took part in the conference. The conference took place in a businesslike and comradely atmosphere.

ISRAELI 'HYPOCRISY' ON PALESTINE CONFERENCE

LD011935 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 1 Sep 83

["Tel Aviv's Provocative Move" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS -- News analyst Leonid Ponomarev writes: The decision of the (?current) International Conference on the Question of Palestine to grant the status of a full-fledged conference delegate to the Palestine Liberation Organisation irritated and angered the ruling circles of Tel Aviv. Despite the efforts on the part of Israel, the USA and some of their Western allies to torpedo the conference or at least to debar the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, from taking part in conference, the Palestine Liberation Organization received in accordance with a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly the possibility to take part in all discussions of the Middle East situation.

Reacting to this constructive and just decision of the United Nations, Israel made another attack on the U.N., lodging a provocative protest through its permanent mission at the U.N. office at Geneva.

Tel Aviv's move is nothing but hypocrisy, as Israel and its patron, the USA, demonstratively refused to take part in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. Earlier they had refused to pay that share of their annual contribution to the United Nations budget which was to cover the expenses connected with the holding of the conference.

Tel Aviv's and Washington's slighting attitude to this authoritative forum on the Palestinian issue -- central to the settlement of the situation in the entire Middle East -- bears witness to the fact that the ruling circles of the USA and Israel continue to reject United Nations efforts to solve the Middle East problem.

It is common knowledge that Tel Aviv leaders can continue to ignore the United Nations decisions, to toughen their aggressive policy against the Arab peoples, and to puruse a policy of genocide against the Palestinians only due to a broad, in fact, unlimited U.S. support to Israel. For their part Washington strategists use Israel for thrusting on the Arabs with armed force the notorious Reagan's plan with the aim of consolidating and building up U.S. military presence in that region.

Pursuing their hegemonistic aims in the Middle East, the USA and Israel ignore the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their homeland, resort to all kinds of tricks and illegal actions to debar the Palestine Liberation Organisation from taking part in the Middle East settlement. In all probability the USA and Israel refused to take part in the Geneva conference on the question of Palestine for fear that for them it may prove a real international tribunal condeming U.S.-Israeli underhand scheming in the Middle East. However, this did not stop speakers at the conference from denouncing imperialist, annexationist policies of the USA and Israel. The speeches of many a delegate emphasise the striving to work for a comprehensive Middle East settlement, not on the U.S.-Israeli proposed terms, but on the basis of a complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied by them in 1967 and the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine including its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state. The responsibility for delaying the efforts to attain these aims rest with Israel and the USA.

REPORT ON PUGWASH CONFERENCE DELIBERATIONS

PM011423 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 83 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "For the Sake of the Planet's Future"]

[Text] Rome, 31 Aug -- The 33d Pugwash conference is continuing its work in Venice. Taking part are about 150 well-known scientists from many countries, including the Soviet Union. Their attention is focused on urgent problems like the pernicious consequences of the nuclear arms race and the safeguarding of peace and security in Europe, the Near East, and other parts of the world. The aim of the conference participants is to draft a package of proposals promoting disarmament and the preservation of peace on earth.

In their speeches the scientists are expressing profound concern at the situation in Europe and emphasizing the need to find ways of resolving the problems facing the continent, and primarily to achieve a reduction in nuclear missile arms. The participants in the conference welcomed with great interest the Soviet Union's peace initiatives set forth in the replies given to PRAVDA's questions by Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. During the discussions it is being noted that they are a real path toward achieving an agreement on the reduction of nuclear missile arms in Europe.

"The Pugwash conferences make a substantial contribution to the peoples' struggle for peace," academician M.A. Markov, chairman of the Soviet Pugwash committee, said in a talk with a TASS correspondent. He stressed that the scientists' opinion is of great importance for resolving problems of peace and disarmament. Scientists give effective support to the peace-loving public's movement. "Peoples! The future is in your hands" -- this idea, the Soviet scientist stressed, "must reach the awareness of every person."

SOVIET EXPERTS AT TOKYO ORIENTALISTS' CONFERENCE

PM011519 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 83 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Congress of Orientalists"]

[Text] Tokyo, 31 Aug -- Leading orientalists from all five continents have gathered for an international congress on the humanities in the Asian and North African countries, which opened in the Japanese capital today. Over 2,000 scholars from dozens of countries, including a delegation of Soviet orientalists, are taking part in this major international forum. The congress program includes reports and discussions covering a broad range of problems relating to Asia and North Africa.

WESTERN VIEW OF USSR WARTIME VICTORY CRITICIZED

PM301350 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Aug 83 p 3

[Candidate of Military Sciences Colonel V. Morozov article: "For the 40th Anniversary of the Battle of Kursk": "Stern Lesson of History"]

[Excerpts] Today it is exactly 40 years since Kharkhov was liberated and the portentous battle of Kursk thereby ended in victory.

The victory of Kursk and the subsequent mighty strategic offensive by the Soviet Armed Forces along the enormous front stretching from Velikiye Luki to the Azov Sea triggered a further upsurge of the national-liberation struggle of the people under fascism's heel. "The Red Army's victorious offensive," Maurice Thorez wrote in 1943, "has created a situation which puts a national rising for the liberation of France on the agenda."

All this needs emphasizing because bourgeois historiography has, throughout the postwar period, been making considerable efforts deliberately to distort the prehistory, history and lessons of the Battle of Kursk and to play down the significance of the Soviet people's victory in that decisive battle of the war. Carrying out the social orders of aggressive imperialist circles, the bourgeois falsifiers of history strive in any way possible to pervert the true reasons for and sources of the Soviet Army's dazzling victories and their law-governed character, and they try to hide, as far as possible, the dark pages in the history of Hitler's army and the adventurism in the strategy of the heirs to the much-vaunted Prussian military school.

The works of Western authors dealing with the Battle of Kursk experience contain, for the most part, an examination only of the Wehrmacht offensive actions and the organization of the Soviet defense. As for the decisive events of the battle -- the Soviet troops' counteroffensive taking the form of two major strategic operations, "Kutuzov" and "Polkovodets Rumyantsev," these get a highly miserly and cursory airing in the West. The overwhelming majority of Western authors not only strive to rehabilitate Hitler's generals over the Kursk defeat, but above all try to belittle the greatness of our victory.

The political intent of the Western falsifiers of history is evident: They work along the lines of the widespread propaganda campaign unleashed against the USSR in the West during the cold war and brought to the fore especially in recent years with the advent to the U.S. state leadership of the present administration headed by R. Reagan. The fact that the history of World War II is to the forefront of ideological attacks by contemporary anticommunists and anti-Soviets is recognized by many Western authors. Thus (Kh. Golkhardt), author of the foreword to the book "The Unforgotten War: Hitler's Germany Versus the Soviet Union 1941-1945," published in the FRG in 1981, notes: "No other war has generated such a bitter battle of opinions waged as the war that the Germans waged against the Soviet Union." In the West, the German author observed, "Prejudice against the Russians, and to an even greater extent against the Bolsheviks, is widespread" and "arrogance and imperiousness are shown toward the East."

In conclusion let us note that, however hard the falsifier gentlemen may try, the sun of truth cannot be blotted out by the hand of lies. The Battle of Kursk was and is one of the Soviet Union's decisive victories in the World War II years. Its experience convincingly reminds us that the USSR can never be defeated by force of arms! At Kursk the fascists' gamble on the massive use of new combat equipment -- tigers, panzers, Ferdinands and dive-bombers -- was foiled. This lesson should serve as a warning to all those who, in their desire to attain military superiority over the USSR, are now gambling on MX, Pershing II, Trident II and cruise missiles and on binary and neutron weapons. No one should ignore the lessons of history.

'MILITARIST' NATURE OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY HIT

PM011554 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 83 First Edition p 4

[S. Vishnevskiy article: "Rip Van Winkles on the Potomac": "Adventurist Aspects of U.S. Foreign Policy"]

[Excerpts] THE WASHINGTON POST once called the U.S. President "this Rip Van Reagan." American readers immediately realized that the paper was comparing the President with Rip Van Winkle -- the character from the Washington Irving fantasy. Rip slept for 20 years during British colonial rule in North America. He awoke after the 18th-century American Revolution and could not understand what had happened in the wide world. To the end of his days he hankered after the good old days. That same nostalgia for the past is also peculiar to the leader of the present U.S. Administration.

Joseph Kraft, the observant Washington commentator, notes that, "Reagan's ideology bears no relation to the real world."

The Republican Party figures who came to power in 1981 and who represent the most reactionary monopoly-capital circles entirely refuse to see that a "Pax Americana" does not exist on earth, that the bygone Washington preeminence is gone for good, and that even their economic power is pretty shaky. It makes them extremely angry that the United States' position as the chief capitalist power is being increasingly squeezed by competitors. The "Common Market's" combined GNP is comparable to America's. The Western European countries and Japan are outstripping the United States in their industrial production growth rates.

It would seem that the experience of history ought to have taught the Washington strategists some sense and show them the futility of gambling on military strength as an instrument of diktat and intimidation. The nuclear weapons monopoly that the United States had in the immediate postwar years did not help to check the liberation processes in the world. The United States' military superiority which existed up to the early seventies was unable to bring the freedom-loving peoples of Cuba, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to their knees.

However, figures in the present administration are reluctant to learn the lessons of history. In the words of THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, they are in the grip of "outmoded beliefs and notions." "The President surrounds himself with friends or friends of friends, who share his cowboy philosophy" (NEW YORK DAILY NEWS).

"Cowboy philosophy" in the nuclear age -- is that not an anachronism? The majority of those who have observed the main architects of U.S. foreign and military policy at close quarters note their amazing incompetence in foreign affairs. Listening to statements by William Clark, who has now become assistant to the President for national security, Senator John Glenn noted: "In my years here in the Senate, I have never seen such ignorance in the sphere of foreign policy." The President's assistant admits that he is a "dilettante" in international politics and relies not on knowledge but on...instinct. And yet Clark, having elbowed Secretary of State Shultz into the background, is now in charge of shaping of U.S. foreign policy.

There is no one to correct Clark's "instincts" since, in the general judgment of Washington observers, his immediate chief himself has an extremely dim notion of the outside world and of strategic problems.

George Kistiakowsky, George Rathgens, and Herbert Scoville, competent experts who held high office in previous administrations, stated, "Reagan is far less informed about nuclear weapons, their capabilities, characteristics and the strategy of their use, than any other President since the start of the nuclear era." Once, the U.S. head of government stunned his audience by publicly declaring that submarine-launched nuclear-tipped missiles could supposedly be stopped (?!) after firing.

Scant knowledge of topical problems of international life is compensated for by a militarist passion. THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent Steven Weisman notes that the main figures in the White House "adhere to the basic conviction that foreign policy successes are preceded by firmness and military resolve, and it is by demonstrating precisely such firmness and resolve that they hope to achieve some kind of success."

In this manner is rich ground for the manifestation of adventurism created. Its imprint lies on all the administration's fundamental plans and measures.

The main obstacle in the way of Washington's imperial pretensions is the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The overseas strategists therefore regard the task of undermining and destroying the socialist community as of paramount importance. The Pentagon-elaborated scenarios of "limited" and "protracted" nuclear wars are aimed at realizing this task. Any one of these scenarios envisages the possibility of victory over the Soviet Union. Not so long ago Vice President G. Bush talked openly about the conditions under which "it is possible to be the winner in a nuclear war." Recently Washington officials have been wary of uttering the word "win" and are instead using the phrase "have the upper hand." However, even the most experienced experts in the English language are unable to fathom the semantic difference between the two terms.

A secret Pentagon directive leaked to the press says, "If...a strategic nuclear war is started with the USSR, the United States must have the upper hand in it." Further on, this guideline is elaborated as follows: devise plans with a view to rendering the Soviet "military and political power structure" leaderless; wipe out nuclear and conventional forces and the "sectors of industry which determine military potential," and simultaneously "insofar as is possible, reduce to a minimum the damage caused to the United States and its allies." What we have here is an evident reckoning on military victory.

It is a matter of plans for a first "disabling" strike with the aid of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and other types of weapons of mass destruction. It is no accident that the prime position in the Pentagon's program is occupied by first-strike weapons systems: the MX intercontinental ballistic missile; the Midgetman mobile missile; the submarine-launched Trident-2 missiles; the B1-B and Stealth strategic bombers; cruise missiles of various launching modes, and so on. Pershing II medium-range missiles are also a first-strike means, as are cruise missiles of the same operating range which, if deployed in Western Europe, would add to the United States' strategic potential. Simultaneously measures to increase the "invulnerability" of U.S. strategic offensive forces are being elaborated. It is precisely for this reason that a space-based antimissile defense system which could intercept facilities for a retaliatory strike against the United States is being contemplated.

Many military experts, including one-time leaders of the U.S. Defense Department, convincingly argue the flimsiness of counting on the impunity of a first strike. The aggressor cannot get away from a terrible retribution. No antimissile space shield will protect him.

Just as adventurist is yet another Washington precondition for guaranteeing victory in "direct conflict" with the Soviet Union -- the restoration of the United States' lost military superiority. The aim here is twofold: Firstly, in the pursuit of superiority, to set such a fast pace in the arms race as to try to "wear out" and "drain" the socialist economy. Such hopes are unfounded. Richard Barnet, a prestigious scientist at the Institute for Policy Studies, calls these calculations "absolutely erroneous," and Princeton University Professor S. Cohen calls them "the fantasy of right-wing" reactionaries.

Having achieved unilateral military advantages, the other goal of the superiority-seekers is to re-create the domineering positions of strength from which it would be possible to blackmail and intimidate the socialist states. But this too is a futile venture. The land of the soviets will never permit the approximate balance of military strength that exists between the USSR and the United States to be upset. Many sober-minded people overseas understand this. The American Union of Concerned Scientists points out that "the attainment of nuclear superiority is impossible."

Power politics which does battle with reality is futile, but is simultaneously dangerous for the cause of peace. It is natural that it arouses growing disquiet and protest among millions of people in all regions.

But the Rip Van Winkles on the Potomac refuse to look around and see the disturbing symptoms. They are too busy. They are too fascinated by their attempts to turn the clock back, even though this gift is given to no one.

U.S. 'FABRICATIONS' ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS REFUTED

PM020816 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 83 Morning Edition p 4

[V. Ganshin "International Commentary": "How Fabrications Are Prepared"]

[Text] From time to time the U.S. mass media and American officials provide the world community with "facts" about the socialist countries' use of chemical weapons in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan. And although not a single one of the accounts concocted by Washington has been corroborated (because it is impossible to do so), the disinformers are spreading more and more new "evidence" designed to prove their fabrications. Where exactly do these myths come from?

A number of research projects carried out in recent times (among which special mention should be made of the book "The Fabricators of the Myth about Yellow Rain" by the Australian writer Grant Evans), both in the United States itself and by UN specialists and experts, show for all to see that the "witnesses" of socialist countries' supposed involvement in the use of chemical toxins are recruited from former members of anti-Lao subversion detachments and Pol Potites entrenched in camps on the territory of Taiwan, where CIA instructors are working all out. The latter also condition the "eyewitnesses" into the appropriate frame of mind, persuading them that a number of gastrointestinal or pulmonary ailments which they have are caused by the use of chemical toxins.

G. Evans' book proves for all to see the farfetched nature and patent bias of such fabrications. Even THE NEW YORK TIMES found it necessary to quote (M. Mizelson), the well-known American biologist and professor at Harvard University, who has shown that the notorious chemical substances which supposedly "poisoned" the CIA "witnesses" were nothing more than the "product of bee droppings."

(R. Rampf) and J. Shannon, representatives of the American public, who have visited a number of regions in Laos where, according to White House claims, "Chemical weapons have been used," and have declared the U.S. Government's claims to be unfounded. A UN specialist who advises the population on stockraising is also working in those areas, they emphasized in their interview in COUNTERSPY magazine. He said that he had neither seen nor heard about any sort of "chemical warfare" going on in that region.

The real source of the acute cancerous and psychological diseases, as well as diseases of the joints and the skin, which are found among the population of Vietnam and thousands of veterans of the war in Indochina, is the highly toxic "Agent Orange" used by the U.S. military in the countries of Indochina. According to authoritative witnesses, almost 80 million liters of defoliants, principally "Agent Orange," were sprayed on the jungles of Vietnam by the American aggressors during the years of the Indochina adventure.

The United States needed to turn the truth upside down in order to divert the public's attention from the Pentagon's plans to build up production of chemical weapons and conceal its supplies of them to anti-Afghan counterrevolutionary formations and Salvadoran goons. It is no accident that the appearance of CIA-produced forgeries is almost always connected with discussions in the United States about appropriating millions of dollars for chemical weapon production, including the new generation of binary nerve-gas ammunition. And no myths can refute these facts.

12TH U.S. UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TEST NOTED

LD020623 Moscow TASS in English 0608 GMT 2 Sep 83

[Text] Washington September 2 TASS -- The United States on Thursday conducted this year's 12th underground nuclear test at the testing range in Nevada, a spokesman for the U.S. Energy Department announced.

USSR ENVOY TO JAPAN ON 'SIGNS' OF PLANE 'CRASH'

OW020157 Tokyo KYODO in English 0146 GMT 2 Sep 83

[Text] Tokyo Sept 2 KYODO -- Soviet Ambassador to Japan Vladimir Pavlov told Japan Friday that the Soviet Union has spotted signs of an aircraft crash in waters near a tiny Soviet island of Moneron off Sakhalin. Moneron is located about 67 kilometers southwest of Nevelsk on the Soviet Far Eastern island of Sakhalin.

The Soviet envoy called on Minoru Tanba, director of the Foreign Ministry's Soviet Affairs Division, early Friday morning to deliver the report, officials said. Pavlov, however, denied a U.S. charge that a Soviet fighter shot down a South Korean jumbo jet Thursday, the officials said. Pavlov presented exactly the same report as the official TASS news agency released late Thursday night. The TASS report said an unidentified plane violated Soviet airspace from August 31 to September 1. The intruder plane did not react to signals and warnings from Soviet fighters and continued flight in the direction of the Sea of Japan.

The officials quoted Pavlov as telling Tanba that the Soviet Union searched for the unidentified aircraft and later found signs of an aircraft crash west of Moneron Island.

Tanba noted U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's announcement later Thursday night that a Soviet fighter fired a missile at the plane and the target was destroyed. The Soviet ambassador said he does not know why Shultz made such remark and on what he based the charge, according to the officials. The Soviet information is based on a reliable fact, Pavlov said, adding that the intruder had flown out of Soviet airspace. Tanba asked the Soviet Union to continue a search for the South Korean jetliner, the officials said. He also asked for Soviet agreement for Japanese patrol boats to enter Soviet territorial waters in searching operations, they said.

SOVIET-JAPANESE TU TALKS OPEN IN ODESSA

LD011000 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2004 GMT 31 Aug 83

[Text] A Soviet-Japanese trade union meeting for peace and friendship among the peoples has opened in Odessa. Representatives of the largest Japanese trade union organizations have arrived here. With their Soviet colleagues they will discuss problems connected with the trade union movement and the struggle of working people for peace and for averting war. The Japanese guests will visit a number of industrial enterprises and will spend some time in factory sanatoria and teaching establishments. In addition to plenary sessions, there will be meetings according to professions and interests. On September there will be a mass antiwar meeting of the working people of Odessa in the city's central square. The Soviet and Japanese delegations will take part.

USSR-DPRK COOPERATION PANEL MEETS IN MOSCOW

PM011931 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 83 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] The 16th session of the standing subcommission on scientific and technical cooperation of the intergovernmental consultative commission on economic, scientific, and technical questions between the USSR and the DPRK took place in Moscow 25 through 31 August.

The results of scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the DPRK in 1982-1983 were examined and decisions on carrying out cooperation measures in 1983-1984 were taken. The sides came to an agreement on carrying out joint research in the agricultural sphere and organizing cooperation aimed at studying the two countries' scientific and technical achievements in the chemical and metallurgical industries, the extraction and enrichment of minerals, construction, and machine building.

JAPAN-S. KOREA MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE

SK311328 Moscow in Korean to Korea 1130 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] The regular Japan-South Korea foreign ministers' meeting is being held in Tokyo. Receiving Seoul's special envoys, Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone vowed that the Japanese Government would do its utmost to expand economic and technological cooperation with South Korea, expressing support for the South Korean Administration. Maintaining such a policy toward South Korea, the Japanese Government had earlier agreed to grant a loan of (?$4 billion) to Seoul. The dictatorial Chon Tu-hwan regime is expected to use most of this loan in hastening war preparations in the southern half of Korea.

KIM TAE-CHUNG EXPOSES CHON'S BRUTALITY

SK010701 Moscow in Korean to Korea 1130 GMT 31 Aug 83

[Text] Kim Tae-chung, a South Korean opposition leader, exposed the criminal acts of the Chon Tu-hwan ring, which is in power in South Korea. In exile in the United States, he sent a letter to professor [word indistinct], an antifascist fighter of an Austria-resident Korean association and an anti-South Korean movement activist in Austria, saying that hundreds of people opposing the Chon Tu-hwan regime have fallen as victims of the bloody suppression in South Korea. Kim Tae-chung emphasized that Chon Tu-hwan's dictatorship is sustained by the United States and the U.S. troops only.

U.S. OFFICIALS' VISIT TO PAKISTAN CITED

LD012326 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 1 Sep 83

[Text] New Delhi September 1 TASS -- Two high-ranking officials of the U.S. Department of Defense visited Pakistan. The HINDUSTAN TIMES reports. According to the paper, they toured a number of military installations, airfields, bases and port facilities on the coast of the Arabian Sea, and held meetings with Pakistan's military.

Quoting informed sources, the paper writes that during the visit the sides reached agreement on expanding contacts between the two countries in the military field, the use of naval and air force bases by the interventionist Rapid Deployment Force, and possible transit of U.S. troops and combat hardware through Pakistan's territory in case of emergency. U.S. naval ships are now permitted to call at some of the country's ports, the HINDUSTAN TIMES notes.

The Indian press writes that Washington's policy of drawing Pakistan into U.S. militarist orbit aggravates the situation on the South Asia subcontinent and causes serious concern in India and other countries of the region.

OPPOSITION URGES PAKISTANI ELECTIONS BOYCOTT

LD012223 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 1 Sep 83

[Text] In Pakistan the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy has called on the population of Baluchistan Province to boycott municipal elections conducted by the military regime there. The regime of Ziaul Haq has not allowed the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, comprising eight opposition parties, to nominate its candidates for the elections. The movement is leading the campaign of civil disobedience started in Pakistan on 14 August. The opposition is demanding the repeal of martial law, the holding of democratic elections and the transfer of power to a civilian government.

INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO VISIT USSR

LD011726 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 1 Sep 83

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS -- By mutual agreement P.V. Narasimha Rao, the minister of external affairs of the Republic of India, is to pay a brief business visit to the Soviet Union in the first decade [10 days] of September.

POLISH VETERANS STATE CONCERN ON U.S. MISSILES

PM011342 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 83 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "War Veterans' Statement"]

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Aug -- A session of the Supreme Council of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy -- an organization of Polish war veterans -- has been held here. W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, and Polish minister of national defense, delivered a speech of greetings to the session participants.

In the statement they adopted the war veterans expressed profound concern at the dangerous development of the world situation. It is being aggravated by the speculations of the U.S. Administration and its allies, particularly on the question of the possibility of waging a so-called "limited nuclear war" and also on the planned deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in West Europe.

The new Soviet peace initiatives set forth in Comrade Yu.V. Andropov's replies to PRAVDA's questions are evidence of the USSR's constructive approach to the fundamental problems of the present day, the statement stresses. We fully support these proposals and voice solidarity with the antiwar movement launched in the world.

The importance of Poland's cohesion with the USSR and the other socialist countries is increasing in the struggle for peace and international security, the statement says.

USSR'S ARKHIPOV RECEIVES HUNGARY'S JUHAR

PM011424 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 83 First edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talk Held"]

[Text] On 30 August I.V. Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers received Z. Juhar, Hungarian minister of internal trade and chairman of the National Tourist Council, and had a talk with him.

POLARIZATION OF FRG VIEWS OF MISSILES GROWS

PM011021 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 83 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Yakhontov dispatch: "Uneasy Summer on the Rhine: Missile Supporters and Opponents in the FRG"]

[Text] Bonn, Aug -- This summer on the Rhine there has in effect been no slack season during which government members and parliamentarians go away on holiday and political life dies down. With each week the temperature of the struggle surrounding the problem of the American Pershing 2 and cruise missile deployment has risen. The gulf between those "for" and those "against" has widened, and the camp of the opponents of "arms upgrading" has grown.

In this situation the West German public's attention was literally seized by Yu. V. Andropov's answers to PRAVDA's questions. They touched on the most burning and pressing tasks of our time -- the task of averting the latest extremely dangerous round in the nuclear arms race in Europe. The idea expressed by the Soviet leader that, if a mutually acceptable agreement is achieved incorporating American renunciation of deployment of the new missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union would eliminate the missiles withdrawn while reducing its medium-range nuclear missiles in the European part of the country to a level equal to the number of British and French missiles, is being widely discussed here. Attention is also being paid to the fact that in this event a considerable number of the most modern missiles, known in the West as SS-20's, would also be eliminated.

On the Rhine the first cabinet reaction has already been given and comments have been made by the country's leading state and political figures. "The FRG Government," DDP has reported, citing official Bonn circles, "is intending to analyze carefully the elucidation by Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, of the Soviet Union's position concerning medium-range nuclear missiles, including its readiness to eliminate some of its SS-20 missiles." Commentaries have also been made by Bonn officials -- Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher, J. Moellemann, secretary of state in the Ministry of the Interior, and certain others who have "welcomed" the USSR initiative have called it "a step in the right direction." However, they have immediately accompanied it with their customary "but"... This time the obstructionist "but" is determined by the stubborn refusal by Bonn (as well as Washington, Paris and London) to include the British and French medium-range nuclear potential in the total balance of forces.

The USSR proposal was positively received by O. Feldmann, Bundestag deputy for the Free Democratic Party [FDP]; H. Ehmke, deputy chairman of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] parliamentary faction, and a number of the country's other political and public figures. H. Ehmke, in particular, also stated that the Reagan administration runs the risk of "losing the West German public's support if it does not now finally present convincing proposals of its own."

H. Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party [DKP], speaking at a DKP board plenum in Duesseldorf, warmly welcomed the proposals contained in Yu.V. Andropov's answers to PRAVDA and firmly condemned the policy of the American ruling circles, which are pushing the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. The USSR has again shown its good will, and this, naturally, provides our country's peace movement with new arguments to draw broad circles of the population into the struggle against implementation of the missile decision, the DKP chairman said.

The FRG is being buffeted by the storms of "psychological warfare." These are being persistently fueled by the reactionary press and the forces behind it with the aim of suppressing the truth about Soviet peace initiatives, in an attempt to distort their clear meaning and constructive character. However, despite this, and as the beginning of missile deployment draws closer, it is precisely the Soviet peace proposals that an ever-increasing number of West Germans see as the real way out of the impasse of NATO's missile policy.

Many West Germans are perceiving with increasing clarity the Soviet Union's honest, consistent and at the same time flexible stance at Geneva, which is based on the principle of equality and identical security. The Soviet Union's readiness to keep exactly as many medium-range missiles as those possessed on the NATO side by Britain and France and, moreover, our country's willingness to come to an agreement on the sides' equality in both delivery vehicles (missiles and aircraft) and warheads is making a great impression. As a result, the Soviet Union would have considerably fewer medium-range missiles and warheads in the European zone than prior to 1976, when there were no SS-20 missiles at all.

The Atlanticists on the Rhine, however, are stubbornly going their own way. Only a matter of weeks remain before 15 November when, depending on the outcome of the Geneva talks on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe, the FRG government intends to say "yes" or "no" to the American missiles, which are designed to carry out a first strike from West German soil. It should be recalled, however, that, contrary to the opinion of the majority of their own people, the Bonn authorities have rashly yoked themselves to Washington's missile "upgrading." And, contrary to all common sense and logic, they are continuing stubbornly plugging the American nuclear missile plan. Bonn is constantly saying that it is not the United States but the Soviet Union which is blocking the Geneva talks. It is sufficient, it is said, for the West to "show firmness" for the Soviet Union to capitulate, that is to say, to embark on unilateral disarmament; and that this notorious "firmness" will spare the FRG and other NATO countries the need "to deploy American missiles on their territory.

The impression is being created willy-nilly that certain circles on the Rhine are not interested in a positive outcome to the Geneva talks and want only to secure a pretext to deploy American missiles. As the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG wrote, Chancellor H. Kohl has brushed aside SPD Chairman W. Brandt's proposal that he consider postponing the deadlines for missile installation, should the Geneva talks fail to produce positive results.

And, on the contrary, everything directed toward implementing NATO's "arms upgrading" plan receives support in Bonn's corridors of power. For example, the move by A. Dregger, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union [CDU-CSU] parliamentary faction, who has been dubbed a Rhine "hawk" by some West German newspapers, has met with the approval of the ruling coalition leaders. In his recent DER SPIEGEL interview and subsequent press conference statement he laid the coalition's cards out on the table. Here is their essence: The FRG will be unable to refuse to deploy American missiles unless the USSR destroys all its SS-20 missiles, wherever they are located(!). Moreover, Dregger "warned" the United States against possible "erroneous concessions" at the Geneva talks. Indeed!

K. Voigt, SPD foreign affairs expert in the Bundestag, commented on Dregger's speech as follows: Instead of urging the United States to reach agreement, the CDU-CSU leadership is egging it on to adopt an even more unbending stance at the talks. The Christian Democrats, in K. Voigt's opinion, thus bear political responsibility for a possible failure of the Geneva talks. The policy of detente is being replaced by a policy of missiles, he stated.

But you cannot extinguish this increasingly fierce debate just by saying "no." There is a whole series of politicians who have expressed their conviction that the appearance on West German soil of American first-strike nuclear missiles targeted on the USSR would be at variance with fundamental provisions in the constitution, which allow only defensive armed forces to exist in the FRG. Well-known SPD lawyer H. (Izola) studied the legal aspect of the question carefully and came to the conclusion that the missile deployment must be preceded by a change in the constitution. This is possible only by a two-thirds majority of the whole parliament. But ruling coalition figures hastened to immediately denounce these proposals and stated that "There is no need for a new law. The question of deployment has long been resolved."

Nor did they react any less hastily in Bonn to the U.S. Congressional research service conclusion denying the rightfulness of the West's refusal to take account of British and French medium-range nuclear missiles at the Geneva talks. The FRG government has refused to take the above-mentioned American experts' opinion into consideration, although the SPD faction has insisted on a reexamination of the FRG position adopted by Bonn on this question and demanded that the Americans proceed from a consideration of the British and French nuclear potential. Furthermore, not a word of condemnation was uttered by either the government or the right-wing press which supports it against Lieutenant General (Glants), commander of Bundeswehr land forces, for signing the new NATO regulation "Airland Battle 2000." The document does, after all, envisage the possibility of delivering a combined first strike from the territory of NATO countries, including the FRG, against Warsaw Pact states, using medium-range missiles.

People in Bonn also pretend that they consider the demand by Bavarian Prime Minister F.-J. Strauss that "the West Europeans (meaning mainly the FRG) be given a dual key as a right of veto" over the U.S. nuclear missiles as being yet another extravagant trick by the CSU leader, not worthy of attention. And yet, it is well known here that this man, whose party is represented in the Bundestag and provides one-fifth of government ministers, has been persistently striving since 1958 for the FRG to acquire nuclear arms. Strauss is not alone in the FRG in his desire to get into the nuclear vaults. The most reactionary, often revanchist-minded people are forming a group around him.

As the fall draws nearer the champions of peace, whose ranks unite millions of people of most varied views and ages, are preparing for broader than ever manifestations, demonstrations, blockades, protests, and rallies.

The Bonn authorities are also preparing for the fall. The draft law limiting the rights of demonstrators (they are in a hurry to rush it through parliament) will give the missile-worshippers a supplementary tool of repression in their struggle against "dissidents."

The press has already launched a furious anticommunist campaign: the "arms upgraders" see the DKP as their main enemy. On behalf of his party -- the CSU -- C.-D. Spranger, parliamentary secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has called on all champions of peace to cease their cooperation with "the enemies of democracy and freedom" (how can you not recall the terminology of the thirties!), in other words with the communists and all those who are the most consistent opponents of the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles on FRG soil.

Systematic attacks are being made against the trade unions, the churches, and the evangelical church in particular because of its negative attitude to "arms upgrading" and the NATO doctrine of deterrence, the SPD, and the Green Party. The organizers of the counterattack against the antiwar movement either forget or refuse to think about the consequences which the implementation of NATO's missile plan would have for the FRG.

"The deployment of Pershings will involve the Federal Republic fully in the total risk and danger of U.S. global strategy," as well-known West German scientist and publicist Karl D. Bredthauer has written, "and Bonn will be deprived of the foreign policy opportunities it has acquired during the decade of detente."

The first cabinet session after the summer vacation was held in Bonn a few days ago. It made no changes to the ruling circles' plans regarding the implementation of the NATO "two-track decision," in other words the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles, which the foreign minister cleverly included among "disarmament measures."

It is hard to understand what the FRG leading circles are hoping to gain from the deployment of U.S. missiles in their country and the inevitable retaliatory measures by the USSR in such an event, or from this oversaturation of central Europe with all kinds of mass destruction weapons. It is not necessary to be a military expert to understand the extent to which the situation would change and the military danger against the FRG would multiply. Would it not be better to take the opportunity while it exists and take energetic steps to achieve an honest agreement, taking into consideration the legitimate interests of both sides, and, instead of increasing the numbers of nuclear weapons in Europe, undertake their significant reduction and thus largely improve the situation on our continent and all over the world? Agreement is still possible while deployment has not yet begun. The USSR's readiness to take yet another major step toward the achievement of mutually acceptable agreement in Geneva is a new manifestation of its good will, a manifestation of exceptional importance. It is now up to the United States and NATO as a whole, including Bonn.

TIKHONOV RECEIVES FRG BANKING OFFICIAL POEHL

LD011647 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 1 Sept 83

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS -- Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, has received in the Kremlin today Karl Otto Poehl, president of the Deutche Bundesbank of West German, paying a visit to Moscow.

Their conversation touched upon different aspects of trade and economic contacts between the Soviet Union and West Germany and certain other aspects of bilateral relations. It was noted that equality and mutually beneficial economic cooperation between states can contribute to a search for ways to normalize the international situation. At the same time the Soviet side stressed that the implementation of the plans to deploy new U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe, first and foremost in West Germany, would have a negative effect on Soviet-West German relations.

Vladimir Alkhimov, chairman of the board of the State Bank of the USSR, and H. Huber, West Germany's charge d'affaires in the Soviet Union, took part in the conversation.

FRG REJECTS USSR SOLDIER'S ASYLUM APPLICATION

LD011854 Hamburg DPA in German 1712 GMT 1 Sep 83

[Text] Bonn, 1 Sep (DPA) -- It has been learned in Bonn that soldier Yuriy Ivanovich Vashchenko has apparently been in the Federal Republic since the middle of July. As early as 14 July, Switzerland requested the Federal Government via diplomatic channels for his return.

The Foreign Office confirmed in Bonn on Thursday that immediately after receiving the Swiss note the responsible Baden-Wuerttemberg state government and the Federal Interior Ministry were informed. Only 2 days ago, however, Switzerland was informed that Vashchenko has submitted an application for asylum and 1 day later, on 31 August, Switzerland recieved the official news that the application had been rejected. According to government officials, Vashchenko can still appeal the rejection of his application and has 4 weeks to do so. In the even no appeal is made, at the end of this period he would be handed over again to Swiss internment.

U.S. MARINES NOW 'OCCUPATION FORCE' IN LEBANON

PM011206 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 83 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Lebanon: The U.S. Occupiers' Actions"]

[Text] Washington, 31 Aug -- According to news agency reports the contingent of U.S. Marines stationed in Lebanon is essentially already engaged in full-scale combat. U.S. troops are continuing to shell the city and its environs. Yesterday and this morning, residential areas of West Beirut and the capital's southern suburbs were subjected to intensive shelling. Numerous fires have broken out in the city and the destruction is great. In the last 3 days more than 80 people have been killed and hundreds have been injured.

The U.S. 6th Fleet is moving close to the Lebanese coast. A U.S. naval assault group, headed by the aircraft carrier "Eisenhower," is 3-5 miles off the Lebanese coast in the vicinity of Beirut. Western commentators link the approach of this group of warships to the possibility of a new landing of U.S. Armed Forces in Beirut. In their view, the dispatch of the "Eisenhower" to the shores of Lebanon is a "clear signal that the United States intends to further widen its influence in that region."

This, commentators stress, is the true value of the hypocritical assurances by President Reagan, who maintained last August, when he sent the Marines to Lebanon on the pretext of "safeguarding peace" in the country, that the U.S. troops would "in no circumstances remain in Lebanon for more than 30 days" and would "not participate directly in combat actions." A year has now gone by, and the size of the U.S. contingent has doubled to around 1,200 Marines. According to U.S. press reports, the Pentagon is planning to increase it by a further 1,000 servicemen.

Basically, the U.S. troops in Lebanon are carrying out the same operations as the Israeli occupiers, including direct involvement in military action. They intend to firmly establish themselves in Lebanon for a long time, and they are constructing winter quarters and establishing strongpoints for their armed forces, which have already effectively become an occupation force.

This policy is giving rise to growing fears and criticism even in Congress, where a number of legislators have accused the president of violating the War Powers Act and demanded the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Lebanon. Obviously trying to stifle the criticism of his actions in the Near East, Reagan sent a letter to President Pro Tempore of the Senate S. Thurmond and Speaker of the House of Representatives T. O'Neill in which, to justify the "continuing presence" of U.S. forces, he put forward the worn-out thesis that it is "vital" to U.S. interests. Moreover, the President noted that "it is impossible to predict how long the troops will remain in Lebanon." According to a State Department spokesman, the administration "may consider the question of a new role for the multinational force," whose backbone the U.S. Marines are, and even of "the need to increase it."

Washington's policy shows that the United States is seeking to consolidate the occupation of Lebanon and dismember the Lebanese state, which is earmarked for the role of bridgehead for U.S. penetration, including military penetration, of the Near East. This was confirmed by J. Tower, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, who is close to the administration. He said that the U.S. military presence in the Near East is one of the main instruments of U.S. foreign policy in the region.

U.S. MARINES MOVING FROM SOMALIA TO LEBANON

LD020609 Moscow TASS in English 0544 GMT 2 Sep 83

[Text] Washington September 2 TASS -- The U.S. Marine unit, which was involved in maneuvers off Somalian shores, is being urgently lifted to the Mediterranean close to the Lebanese coast, the U.S. press reported quoting Pentagon official circles.

The unit, the 31th, [as received] landing party which leaves the Kenyan port of Mombasa today, includes 2,000 officers and men as well as the attack landing ship "Tarawa," the transport landing ship "Dalat" [as received] and the tank-leading ship "Frederick." Its armaments include heavy tanks, artillery pieces, armoured personnel carriers, and attack and transport helicopters. The urgent movement of this unit to the shores of Lebanon is part of the Reagan administration's plans to widen U.S. military intervention in that country.

PRAVDA ATTACKS U.S. 'BRIGHT STAR' MANEUVERS

PM011019 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 83 First Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Peresada dispatch under the rubric "International Notes": "'Bright Star' -- The Pentagon's Military Fist"]

[Text] Cairo -- A-7 attack aircraft and Cobra helicopters inflicted a fire strike. C-130 military transport aircraft, having flown thousands of kilometers, landed a force supported by a tank assault. F-14 fighter-bombers took off from the aircraft carrier "Eisenhower" and provided air cover. An operation was being rehearsed to capture and hold strategic positions in a desert situation....

All this is a chronicle of just one day of the "Bright Star" military maneuvers held on Egyptian territory with the participation of the American Rapid Deployment Force. Some 5,500 American soldiers and officers were involved in the U.S. militarist action of unprecedented scale in the Near East, that is, almost four times as many as during the first maneuvers of this kind held in 1980. Subunits of the 82d Airborne Division, which fought in Vietnam, constitute the backbone of the "expeditionary corps." AWACS reconnaissance aircraft and also, to judge by reports from Washington, B-52 strategic bombers were transferred to an Air Force base located west of Cairo to participate in the "exercises."

"We are acquiring experience of combat operations under local conditions," General R. Kingston, commander of the Rapid Deployment Force, declared at a press conference held here. It is well known what such experience is needed for. As much as 3 years ago the Rapid Deployment Force staff disseminated its bulletin in Cairo, which fully revealed the Pentagon's aggressive designs and showed where the "intervention force" is targeted and what the maneuvers conducted by it serve. Fulfilling the task of "defending the vital interests" of the United States, the bulletin stated, the Rapid Deployment Force concentrates attention on Southwest Asia and, in particular, on the oil-rich Persian Gulf region. The document set forth specific plans, from which it followed that "concentrating attention" means preparing for intervention. And now this has been confirmed by Kingston himself. Addressing journalists, he made it clear that the Rapid Deployment Force is being trained so that it may be transferred from the United States to any Persian Gulf country in the course of a few days.

But only to that region? For it is obvious that the "operations to seize and hold," which are now being rehearsed in the course of "Bright Star," could subsequently have a very extensive "geography." In addition, account should be taken of the fact that it is not just Egypt that is a test ground for rehearsing them. These days similar "exercises" are also being conducted on the territory of Sudan, Somalia, and Oman. They essentially have their sights on the group of countries included in the sphere of operation of the Centcom -- the interventionist Central Command set up by the Pentagon.

The U.S. militarist ballyhoo acquires a particularly sinister hue in connection with the exacerbated situation in Chad, where imperialist aggression has in fact been unleashed, as well as against the background of Washington's crude provocations with regard to Libya. The fact that American troops are at the same time in countries neighboring on Chad and Libya clearly demonstrates the U.S. desire to keep its military fist in readiness and to influence events "from a position of strength."

For a long time the official Egyptian press reported nothing about the maneuvers. The "barrier of silence" was lifted just a few days ago, when they entered the concluding phase. The reluctance to publicize this venture is perfectly understandable, as the maneuvers are extremely unpopular both in Egypt itself and outside the country. It was no coincidence that Cairo refused to hold them last year, and it is now declared here that the maneuvers are not directed against any state. However, the fact remains that the Rapid Deployment Force, which is aimed at aggression and brigandage, has once again landed on Egyptian territory.

The massive "presence" of transatlantic troops arouses serious concern in the country and is encountering a growing wave of protest.

Egypt does not need joint maneuvers with the American Army, and we are against the presence of foreign troops on Egyptian soil, K. Muhyi ad-Din, general secretary of the National Progressive (Left) Party, said. The Egyptian people are extremely alarmed at these maneuvers, which run counter to Egypt's policy of nonalignment, I. Shukri, chairman of the Socialist Labor Party, pointed out. The dangerous war "games" merely serve the interests of Washington, which is ready at any moment to kindle a conflagration in the region where Egypt itself is located, the newspaper ASH-SHA'B writes.

The world public must step up the struggle against U.S. militarist preparations, reads a statement disseminated here by the AAPSO Permanent Secretariat. These preparations are resulting in growing tension in the Near East and in Africa and are jeopardizing world peace and security.

USSR CELEBRATES LIBYA'S REVOLUTION DAY

USSR 'Friendly Support'

PM011951 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Sep 83 p 3

[S. Yevgenyev and V. Fatis article: The Revolution Is Looking Into the Future"]

[Text] The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah has recently become again the object of crude pressure, blackmail, and blatant threats by the forces of imperialism headed by the United States. The U.S. Administration, having proclaimed a long time ago a "tough policy" toward Libya, has now openly taken the road of organizing an entire range of provocative actions against this independent state. The latest outburst of anti-Libyan hysteria is connected with the events in Chad, where a civil war has been going on for 17 years. Attemtping to justify its impudent interference in the purely internal conflict in this central African country, the United States has launched an unprecedentedly large anti-Libyan campaign based on the false thesis of a "Libyan threat" to Chad.

What has Libya done to "anger" the White House masters to such an extent? It is not difficult to answer this question: Washington is unhappy with the Libyan leadership's aspiration to firmly follow a progressive domestic policy and an independent, anti-imperialist foreign policy, the foundations for which were laid by the 1 September 1969 revolution.

Libya is entering the 15th year of its revolution under complex conditions. Nevertheless, as the Libyan Jamahiriyah's leader, M. al-Qadhdhafi, has repeatedly declared recently, neither economic sanctions, nor political blackmail, nor military provocations can shake the Libyan people's determination to defend the gains of the September Revolution. In their struggle against the intrigues of imperialism the Libyan people rely upon the friendly support and solidarity of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and of all progressive forces on our planet.

U.S. Hostile to Libyan Gains

PM011940 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Sep 83 First Edition p 3

[S. Antonov and V. Usatov commentary pegged to Libya's Revolution Day: "Along the Chosen Path"]

[Excerpt] The revolution put an end to the country's one-sided pro-Western orientation in matters of foreign policy. The Libyan leadership actively follows a progressive and independent course on the international arena, based upon the principles of nonalignment, positive neutrality, Arab unity, and struggle against imperialism, colonialism, Zionism, and racism.

This course enjoys the support of all freedom-loving forces on our planet and helps enhance Libya's international prestige. It is thus no accident that it causes undisguised irritation in the West, and mainly in Washington. Its imperial ambitions prevent the United States from accepting the loss of its positions in Libya as a result of the September Revolution's victory. For a long time now people on Capitol Hill have been hatching plans to liquidate the progressive regime in Tripoli and deliberately exacerbate the situation round Libya. Now the White House is yet again playing the "Chad card" against the sovereign Libyan state. The internal conflict in Chad is being exploited by the United States and its NATO partners to deal a blow against the gains of the Libyan revolution and against all progressive forces in Africa. Inexcusably interfering in this conflict, the U.S. Administration is striving to justify its intervention by some threat against Chad allegedly stemming from Libya. It has even been agreed that the radical Libyan regime threatens "vital" U.S. interests. These ludicrous accusations are being voiced at a time when ships of the U.S. Navy are cruising off that state's coast, and when yet another demonstration of the Pentagon's "military muscle" is being organized on the territory of a number of neighboring countries.

The Libyan people, however, reject the imperialist diktat and are fully determined to continue their march along their chosen path of independence and progress.

The September Revolution turned a new page in Libya's relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries, in whom the Libyan patriots have found reliable friends. The Soviet people wish the Libyan people great successes in the building of the new life.

'Reinforcing Defensive Powers'

LD021006 Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1530 GMT 1 Sep 83

[From the "Window on the Arab World" program, presented by Aleksandr Timoshkin]

[Excerpts] Commentary by Nikolay Andreyev entitled: "The Day of the Revolution...The Day of the Struggle":

Fourteen years ago, on 14 September 1969, the Libyan people removed the monarchy, the follower of imperialism, and established a truely independent state, which is Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. Since its early days, this small Arab country, whose population does not much exceed 2 million, started the battle to reinforce its political and economic sovereignty.

The cooperation between the Soviet Union and Libya attracts special importance in the field of reinforcing the defensive powers of this Arab country. Between the Soviet and Libyan leaders there are regular personal contacts, and the joint efforts in the international field are coordinated. The Soviet Union was repeatedly visited by Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution, 'Abd as-Salam Jallud and many others. In the National Day of the Libyan people, the Soviets send their warm hearty greetings and their wishes for an increasing success in achieving the hoped for aims in the direction they have chosen. Especially about this, the representatives of the Soviet public opinion have talked in the festivals which were held on the occasion of the anniversary of the Libyan Revolution.

FRENCH DEFENSE MINISTER'S CHAD TOUR VIEWED

PM011052 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 83 First Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent I. Shhedrov under the general heading: "Increasing Interference"]

[Text] Paris, 31 Aug -- News media are commenting extensively on the results of the inspection visit to the French interventionist forces' positions in Chad by French National Defense Minister C. Hernu, who had talks with President H. Habre. Local commentators note that the matter under discussion was the further expansion of the French military presence in this remote African country following the dispatch of a French corps more than 3,000 strong equipped with the latest weapons -- from Jaguar and Mirage combat aircraft to antitank missile installations. There were three main topics of discussion: the widening of the French interventionist forces' "field of operations," the fixing of the amount of military aid to H. Habre's forces, and the coordination of "common efforts." For the first time since French military intervention in Chad began, judging by reports from Ndjamena, interventionist units have been authorized in a number of cases to "operate" north of the 15th parallel, which has hitherto marked the limit of the combat action zone. France has also promised to increase supplies of military hardware, ammunition, and other equipment for H. Habre's army.

In Ndjamena C. Hernu again said that he does not rule out the possibility of French forces' participating in combat operations, including offensive operations, "if they are under threat." The results of the national defense minister's visit show, LE MONDE writes, that in Paris the military's influence in determining policy toward Chad is clearly growing.

Commentators draw attention to the fact that, at a reception in honor of the high-ranking French visitor, the head of the Ndjamena regime saw fit to express gratitude for military aid to the United States as well as France.

CAMEROONIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS CONCLUDE USSR VISIT

Ruben Receives Delegation

PM011301 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 83 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit to Moscow"]

[Text] A meeting was held in Moscow on 31 August between the Cameroon National Assembly delegation led by S. Tandeng Muna, president of the Assembly and member of the Cameroon National Union Politburo, and V.P. Ruben, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalitites, and chairmen and members of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' permanent commissions.

An exchange of information took place on the structure and activity of the two countries' parliaments. A mutual desire to further develop parliamentary ties, which serve the interests of the peoples of both states and the cause of peace and security in Africa and throughout the world, was expressed.

The delegation head noted the great significance of Soviet aid in developing his country, and especially emphasized its wholly disinterested character. USSR Supreme Soviet deputies N.M. Zaychenko and L.A. Makarova, other officials, and Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, Cameroonian ambassador to the USSR, participated in the conversation. A luncheon in the guests' honor was given on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' chairmen.

'Exchanges of Opinions'

LD011427 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 1 Sep 83

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS -- A delegation from the National Assembly of Cameroon led by Assembly Chairman Solomon Tandeng Muna stayed in the USSR from August 25 through 31, 1983 at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Cameroonian MPs were informed of the guidelines of the USSR's home and foreign policy. On their part, they told the hosts about the work of the National Assembly of the United Republic of Cameroon and about the far-reaching and important political, economic and social changes in their country. The visitors pointed out the Soviet Union's outstanding contribution to the cause of struggle to liberate the African Continent from the colonial yoke.

Exchanges of opinions took place on pressing international problems as well as on issues concerning bilateral Soviet-Cameroonian relations which develop in a favorable way.

The Soviet and Cameroonian MPs emphasised that in the tense international situation today it is essential to do everything possible to stop the arms race, further detente and consolidate peace [word indistinct] the situation in Africa, they voiced grave concern about the tense situation in the south of that continent and urged early solutions of its problems. They demanded an end to acts of aggression by the South African racist regime against neighbouring African states and the immediate liberation of Angolan territory from South African interventionist troops.

The parlimentarians of the two countries declared their support for the just struggle waged by the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and positively assessed the role of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), especially its contribution to the struggle by African people against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid.

CYRUS VANCE CRITICIZES U.S. POLICY ON C. AMERICA

LD012333 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 1 Sep 83

[Text] Washington September 1 TASS -- Former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance criticised the Reagan administration's policy in Central America. Addressing a session of the National Advisory Commission on Central America, he emphasized the problems of that region should be solved politically, not in a military way, on which Washington is known to insist.

As the commission is holding its sessions the United States engages in muscle-flexing in Central America. Two major U.S. naval squadrons are cruising off the coasts of Nicaragua, the main target of Washington's pressure. Not far from the Central American coast the Pentagon is holding major naval maneuvers, "Ridex-83," now in their second phase. Land exercises involving U.S. and Honduran troops, are under way on Honduras' territory.

The American news agency AP reports that B-52 strategic bombers, designed to deal nuclear strikes at targets situated far from U.S. territory, are taking part in the "Ridex-83" exercises. The agency writes that only some of them were re-fitted to carry conventional air bombs and air-to-surface missiles used to attack ships.

KOSHOYEV ATTENDS LUNCHEON FOR BOLIVIAN ENVOY

PM020834 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 83 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 30 August, T.Kh. Koshoyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received J. Murillo de la Rocha, Bolivian ambassador to the USSR, in connection with his departure home, and had a friendly talk with him.

On the same day USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.G. Komplektov received J. Murillo de la Rocha for a talk and also gave a luncheon in the ambassador's honor.

USSR-VENEZUELA EXCHANGE INDEPENDENCE TELEGRAMS

PM261228 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 83 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent President L. Herrera Campins of the Republic of Venezuela a telegram in which it conveyed to him congratulations and wishes for happiness, as well as for success and prosperity to the friendly Venezuelan people, on the occasion of the country's national holiday -- Independence Day.

In a reply telegram the president of Venezuela expressed sincere gratitude for the congratulations and good wishes on his own behalf and on behalf of the people and government of his country.

MARTINIQUE COMMUNISTS END USSR VISIT 27 AUG

PM301053 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 83 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strengthening Ties"]

[Text] A Martinique Communist Party (PCM) delegation, headed by E. Cap-Gras, member of the PCM Central Committee, was in the Soviet Union from 18 through 27 August at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Martinique Communists had meetings and conversations at the CPSU Central Committee International Section, the Tula CPSU Obkom, the SELSKAYA ZHIZN editorial offices, the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Institute, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law.

The delegation visited sovkhozes and kolkhozes in Moscow and Tula Oblasts and familiarized itself with the party organizations' work on the fulfillment of 26th CPSU Congress decisions, with the activity of local soviet ispolkoms, and with the life and achievements of the Soviet people.

The delegation members gave a high opinion of the Soviet Union's successes in communist building and expressed solidarity with the Soviet peace policy and determination to strengthen fraternal relations between the PCM and CPSU on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

RECENT LEADER APPEARANCES, ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Kunayev Addresses Party Aktiv

LD311519 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Aug 83

[Text] A meeting of the oblast party aktiv took place in Kustanay today. It was noted at the meeting that despite unstable weather in the spring and an extraordinarily hot summer, farms have not grown a bad harvest. Toilers are currently sparing no effort in order to complete cutting work over the next few days and to sell to the state as much high-quality grain crops as possible. At the same time, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are comprehensively preparing themselves for cattle wintering and are laying the foundations for next year's harvest.

Those who took part in the party aktiv focused their attention on ways to further raise the rate and quality of work measures aimed at fulfilling plans and socialist pledges ahead of schedule, strengthening discipline, and further perfecting educational and mass-political work.

Comrade Kunayev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee addressed the meeting.

Grishin on Vegetable Delivery

PM311417 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 83 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Delivering On Time and Reliably Preserving Potatoes and Vegetables: Conference at Moscow CPSU Gorkom"]

[Excerpt] A meeting was held yesterday at Moscow CPSU Gorkom to discuss the question of the tasks of party, soviet, and economic organs in delivering potatoes and vegetables of the 1983 harvest to Moscow promptly and placing them in storage.

The following were invited to the meeting: CPSU raykom secretaries, chairman and deputy chairman of rayispolkoms, leaders of a number of main administrations and administrations in Moscow Gorispolkom, responsible workers of party, soviet, and trade union organizations, economic leaders, and secretaries of party organizations of fruit and vegetable offices and a number of trade and transport enterprises in the capital.

The meeting was opened by B.V. Nikolskiy, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

L.F. Lukashev, deputy chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom, delivered the report.

The following spoke at the meeting: F.S. Naberezhnev, first deputy chairman of Moscow Oblispolkom; V.S. Sablin, first secretary of Moskvoretskiy CPSU Raykom; G.V. Borisov, chairman of Krasnopresnenskiy Rayispolkom; V.F. Vasilyev, acting chief of the Moscow City Soviet Main Motor Transport Administration; V.S. Vorobyev, director of the Pervomayskiy Rayon Fruit and Vegetable Office; and N.T. Seregin, chief of the Moscow City Soviet Main Administration of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry.

V.V. Grishin, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, addressed the meeting.

Taking part in the conference were V.F. Promyslov, chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom; V.I. Konotop, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom; L.A. Borisov, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; ministers and deputy ministers of union and republican ministries of fruit and vegetable farming, railways, and procurement, chairmen of the Tsentrosoyuz and the RSFSR Potrebsoyuz, and also responsible workers of Moscow Oblast party, soviet, and procurement organs.

BELORUSSIAN SSR DEPUTY MINISTER DISMISSED

PM301436 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Aug 83 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Local Report": "Minsk"]

[Text] The Belorussian SSR Ministry of Industrial Construction and subordinate organizations have been failing to cope with the set targets for increasing labor productivity. This has resulted in a failure to carry out construction and installation work worth hundreds of thousands of rubles. This is because leaders of the ministry's administrations and sections, construction sites, and enterprises have not been paying due attention to the introduction of mechanization, progressive construction methods, autonomous financing, or the team contract. Enterprises have been making poor use of the experience of advanced workers and innovators. Much work time is being wasted at construction sites because of shortcomings in the organization of production (the lack of a work front and the transfer of people from one work station to another).

During a check the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers relieved Comrade Kurlenya of his duties as deputy minister of industrial construction.

The republic's People's Control Committee severely reprimanded Comrade Tsybulskiy, chief of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Industrial Construction Economic Construction Administration, and Comrade Astrashevskiy, chief of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Industrial Construction Technical Administration. Fines were imposed on Comrade Ivinskiy, general director of the Stroymash production association, and on Comrade Ivashin, chief engineer.

ARMENIAN KOMSOMOL FIRST SECRETARY REPLACED

PM301038 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 83 p 1

[Own correspondent A. Sarkisyan report under the rubric "Komsomol teletype"]

[Text] A plenum of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee, which examined an organizational matter, has been held in Yerevan. The plenum relieved V. Turyan of his duties as first secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee as a result of his being accepted for postgraduate studies at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

A. Torpuzyan, second secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee, was elected first secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee.

G.N. Andreyev, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, also took part in the work of, and spoke at, the plenum.

DNEPROPETROVSK PLANT OFFICIALS DISMISSED

PM301445 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 83 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Following Criticism": "There Would Have Been a Bonus"]

[Text] A report on gross violations of financial discipline at the Dnepropetrovsk combined aviation detachment was published under the above heading by PRAVDA on 8 June ("People's Control Page" No 10).

A reply has been received, signed by V. Boyko, first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom. It reports that the newspaper article has been examined at sessions of Dnepropetrovsk Babushkinskiy Party Raykom Bureau and the obkom. The criticism was acknowledged to be correct. CPSU members N. Grigorenko, commander of the aviation detachment; A. Soldatenko, deputy commander for political education work; and N. Popov, chairman of the united trade union committee, were severely reprimanded for the violations which had been allowed to occur, and their report cards were endorsed accordingly.

Babushkinskiy Party Raykom and I. Torkin, its first secretary, were censured for failing to react promptly to violations and abuses at the aviation detachment.

V. Belenya, secretary of the detachment's party committee; M. Romanets, instructor at the party obkom; transport prosecutor A. Andriyevskiy; and V. Babenko, chief of the airport internal affairs department, were also called strictly to account by the party.

B. Panyukov, first deputy minister of civil aviation, reports that A. Goryashko, chief of the Ukrainian civil aviation administration, has been severely reprimanded for the shortcomings which has been allowed to occur, and his deputy, A. Trotsenko, has been warned for dereliction of duty [nepolnoye sluzhebnoye sootvestviye]. N. Girgorenko and A. Soldatenkov have been relieved of their posts.

The replies state that criminal proceedings have been instituted in connection with the violations of financial and state discipline in the aviation detachment brought to light by people's control personnel.

V. Zuyev, chairman of the aviation workers union central committee, points out that V. Popov, chairman of the united trade union committee, has been relieved of his duties.

BREZHNEV PLAQUE UNVEILED IN DNEPRODZERZHINSK

LD011436 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 1 Sep 83

[Text] A memorial plaque with a portrait in relief of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev has been unveiled today in Dneprodzerzhinsk on the "Arsenichev" Industrial Institute building, where he studied from 1931 to 1935. It has been set up in honor of the outstanding figure in the Communist Party and the Soviet state and the international communist and workers' movement, in accordance with a decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers on the perpetuation of his memory. A meeting took place at which representatives of party, administrative and public organizations, and labor collectives of the town spoke.

TURKMEN LABOR PROTECTION WORK 'UNSATISFACTORY'

PM261341 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Aug 83 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the AUCCTU Presidium: On Unsatisfactory Work by the Turkmen SSR Gossnab in Providing the Republic's Enterprises and Organizations With Protective Clothing, Protective Footwear, and Other Means of Individual Protection"]

[Text] Measures are constantly being impelmented in our country to improve supplies to the working people of quality protection clothing, protective footwear, and other means of individual protection -- considered to be an important factor in the creation of healthy and safe working conditions in production. At present more than 67 million workers, kolkhoz members, and office staff receive protective clothing, protective footwear and other means of individual protection free of charge. The state is spending more than R2 billion annually for this purpose.

On 1 March 1983 the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU adopted a resolution "On Measures To Further Improve Supplies of Protective Clothing, Protective Footwear, and Other Means of Individual Protection to the Working People." On 10 September 1982 the AUCCTU Presidium approved a program for trade union participation in the work to further improve supplies of protective clothing, protective footwear, and other means of individual protection to workers, kolkhoz members, and employees.

Implementing the aforementioned resolution and program, the AUCCTU, together with the USSR Gossnab, is checking the work of main territorial administrations for material and technical supply, enterprises and organizations, and trade union organs as regards timely supplies to the working people of protective clothing and protective footwear.

As the check carried out this year has shown, serious shortcomings in this matter exist in the work of the Turkmen SSR Gossnab. At the latest session of the AUCCTU Presidium it was noted that the AUCCTU and the USSR Gossnab had earlier drawn the Turkmen SSR Gosnab's attention to the need to eliminate the existing shortcomings. However, the republic Gossnab and Comrade K.N. Kapiyeva, the Gossnab's deputy chairman, who had been charged with organizing supplies of protective clothing to the republic's enterprises, failed to draw the necessary conclusions from this.

The AUCCTU Presidium, having examined the results of the check, declared the work of the Turkmen SSR Gossnab as regards the timely provision of quality protective clothing, protective footwear, and other means of individual protection for the republic's enterprises and organizations to be unsatisfactory.

The AUCCTU Presidium took note of a statement by Comrade R.D. Meredov, first deputy chairman of the Turkmen SSR Gossnab, saying that the Turkmen SSR Gossnab is at present adopting specific measures to eliminate the shortcomings revealed in the AUCCTU and USSR Gossnab check. It was also noted that Comrade K.N. Kapiyeva has been removed from the leadership of this work sector.

The AUCCTU Presidium severely reprimanded Comrade O.I. Ishankuliyeva, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Trade Unions Council, for the trade union organs' poor monitoring of the supply organs' work in providing the republic's working people with protective clothing, protective footwear, and other means of individual protection and in the implementation of measures to further improve the supplies of these protective facilities to workers, kolkhoz members, and employees.

The AUCCTU Labor Protection Department has been instructed to check on the implementation of the AUCCTU Presidium resolution on this subject in 1984 and to report the results.

KHALILOV GIVES AWARDS TO AZERBAIJAN WORKERS

GF142052 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0105 GMT 11 Aug 83

[Text] On 10 August, Khurban Khalilov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented Azerbaijan medals to the [word indistinct] and wool industry workers. The red banner for toil, the award for people's friendship, the medal of honor, orders of second and third grade toil, and medals for [words indistinct] in toil were awarded. Also a large group consisting of progressive workers employed in the economic field, the transportation sector, party and people's deputies organs, and scientists and scholars, also received the award decrees from the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium.

While presenting the decrees, Kurban Khalilov sincerely congratulated them on behalf of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers and wished them sound health and new success in the discharging of their duties in the economic field.

LABOR DISCIPLINE LEGISLATION COMES INTO FORCE

LD020833 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 1 Sep 83

[Text] Today the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on introducing certain changes in legislative acts has come into force. We have invited Vasiliy Ivanovich Nikitinskiy, professor, doctor of juridical sciences, to the microphone.

Problems connected with labor discipline have always been at the center of attention of our party, our state, and means for strengthening discipline have changed. It is natural and is the line of the party that these proposals which were voiced by the working people themselves required definite legislative anchorage. And so after this, there was the adoption, first of all, of the decision of the party Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU, on reinforcing work for strengthening labor discipline; subsequently, the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU, on reinforcing work for strengthening labor discipline; subsequently, the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU on additional measures for strengthening labor discipline; and finally, there was the adoption of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 12 August on introducing certain changes to the USSR legislature, which came into force today. What is the main idea of these latest laws aimed at strengthening labor discipline?

[Nikitinskiy] First of all I would like to note the consistent implementation of the principle: to everybody according to their labor [kazhdomu po trudu]. A worker with a clear conscience, from the introduction of the new legislative acts, merely gains -- the number of advantages increases -- while the transgressors correspondingly lose out, which cannot appear to be unjust. These are the main new points in our legislation. The fourth point of Article 17: It now reads as follows -- that the administration can dismiss a worker for absenteeism, even in the case of absence from work for more than 3 hours in the course of a working day. Article 35 based on labor legislation was also amplified; it concerned the fact that the administration, at the request of the worker, may grant him a brief leave of absence without the retention of his pay; it has been added that in cases of need, with the agreement of the sides, this leave of absence may be made up for by industrial, office and professional workers in a subsequent period, according to the conditions and possibilities at the work place. This is a fully just standard, because life has shown that many people have taken leave of absence without retention of pay, from which the state, naturally, society, suffers a great economic loss. It should be noted that the new acts do not contain any violations of human rights, as our ideological opponents are tyring to portray it. They do not violate any kind of ILO conventions ratified by the Soviet Union.

GEORGIAN CC PLENUM FOCUSES ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Information Report on Georgian CC Plenum

WA181200 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 10 Jul 83 pp 1

[Unattributed article: "News Brief on Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The 14th Plenum of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee continued its proceedings on 9 July.

Speakers in the discussion following the keynote address included: N. Z. Chavchavadze, director of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy; G. S. Shugarov, first secretary of the Akhalkalakskiy Rayon Committee of the Georgian Communist Party; G. D. Dzhavakhishvili, rector of the Tbilisi State Pedagogic Institute of Foreign Languages; O. A. Khristianov, first secretary of the Tsalkskiy Rayon Committee of the Georgian Communist Party; A. M. Barabadze, prosecutor of the Georgian SSR; G. V. Charakashvili, first secretary of the Tsiteltskaroyskiy Rayon Committee of the Georgian Communist Party; V. G. Lordkipanidze, first secretary of the Central Committee of Georgian Komsomol; Z. D. Chivadze, general manager of the Tbilisi Electrovozostroitel' Production Association; N. A. Popkhadze, chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, B. D. Gulua, first secretary of the Poti City Committee of the Georgian Communist Party; G. G. Lezhava, Georgian SSR Minister of Health; R. A. Goglidze, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers Committee on Physical Culture and Sports; S. T. Rigvava, chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education; E. N. Shengelaya, first secretary of the board of the Union of Georgian Cinematographers; D. I. Chkhikvishvili, Georgian SSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education.

The plenum closing address was presented by Georgian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary E. A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The plenum adopted an appropriate decree.

The plenum examined organizational matters.

The plenum advanced N. Sh. Endeladze, chief of the propaganda and agitation department of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and V. Ya. Pisareva, stitcher at the Tbilisi Garment Factory imeni Ordzhonikidze, from candidate member to full member of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

This ended the proceedings of the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party.

Shevardnadze on Ideological Work

WA181200 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Jul 83 pp 1-4

[Speech by E. A. Shevardnadze, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party on 8 July 1983: "Results of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and Important Tasks of Ideological and Mass-Political Work by the Party Organizations of Georgia, Proceeding from the Plenum Decisions and the Speech by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Yu. A. Andropov"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface]

[Text] Comrades! Major political events have taken place in the life of our party and nation.

A CPSU Central Committee plenum has been held. It is of focal importance, since it defined the key tasks facing the party and Soviet people at the present stage in the building of communism. The USSR Supreme Soviet session convened following the plenum, which elected CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Yu. V. Andropov chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, became, as it were, an additional confirmation of the indivisible authorit of the party and state and an expression of the unity of the intellect and will of the party and people.

The plenum discussed current issues of ideological and mass-political work. As comrade Yu. V. Andropov stated at the plenum, this is one of the root issues of party activity, one of the most important component parts of building communism.

The report presented by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, contained a profound analysis of amassed experience and existing problems, fundamental conclusions and recommendations. We know that many new issues have appeared in the domain of ideological work which require resolution and clear, exhaustive answers. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE JUNE PLENUM CONSISTS FIRST AND FOREMOST IN THE FACT THAT IT HAS PLACED THESE ITEMS ON THE AGENDA, HAVING DISCUSSED THEM COMPREHENSIVELY AND IN DETAIL, PRESENTED ANSWERS TO THEM, SNYTHESIZED EXISTING KNOW-HOW, AND SPECIFIED IN WHAT TODAY'S TASKS CONSIST AND HOW ONE MUST WORK TOMORROW.

The Central Committee Plenum had a more than favorable background. This included the speeches and reports by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, especially his work entitled "Ucheniye Karla Marksa i nekotoryye voprosy sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva v SSR" [The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Problems of Building Socialism in the USSR], which constituted, one might say, the basic foundation for the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The attention of the world community was centered on these documents. The dialectic of succession, Marxist depth, clarity of aim and political realism which characterized these documents leave no room for narrow pragmatism. scholasticism, and political opportunism, and call upon us to engage in genuine innovativeness.

ALL THIS WAS PREPARED PARTICULARLY FORCEFULLY IN THE SPEECH BY YURIY VLADIMIROVICH ANDROPOV AT THE JUNE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENU, IN WHICH PROFOUND THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES ARE CLOSELY LINKED AND IN AN ORGANIC UNITY WITH OUR PARTY'S CONCRETE PRACTICAL TASKS. As was stressed at the Plenum, shaping of the consciousness of Communists and all citizens of our socialist society is the business not only of professionals -- ideologists, propagandists, and workers in the mass media. IT IS THE BUSINESS OF THE ENTIRE PARTY. We must proceed from this, comrades, in all our subsequent work.

The historic significance of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum is indicated by the fact that the decisions adopted at this Plenum, based the profoundly scientific, precise, clear and realistic points and conclusions contained in the speech by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Yu. V. Andropov at the Plenum, WILL CONSTITUTE THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF THE NEW VERSION OF OUR PRINCIPAL PARTY DOCUMENT -- the CPSU PROGRAM.

I.

The idea of the necessity OF RESOLUTELY BOOSTING ALL OUR IDEOLOGICAL, INDOCTRINATIONAL, AND PROPAGANDA WORK TO THE LEVEL OF THOSE LARGE AND COMPLEX TASKS WHICH THE PARTY IS PERFORMING IN THE PROCESS OF PERFECTING DEVELOPED SOCIALISM ran clearly through the

proceedings of the entire Plenum. These are first and foremost tasks of economic and social development, which are closely interlinked with Communist indoctrination of the masses.

The June Plenum presented an exhaustive description of developed socialism as a society in which AN ECONOMIC BASE, SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND POLITICAL SYSTEM CORRESPONDING TO SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES HAVE ALREADY BEEN FULLY ESTABLISHED, WHERE SOCIALISM IS DEVELOPING ON ITS OWN, COLLECTIVIST FOUNDATION.

Examining problems of party ideological work, the CPSU Central Committee and its Plenum proceeded from the position that the tasks of improving it cannot be accomplished without a profound and comprehensive analysis of that foundation on which this work is organized, that is, without a profound and comprehensive analysis of the very mode of production the strengthening of which it fosters and on which it is grounded.

The Plenum stated the reminder that in all our activities we should constantly base ourselves on the objective laws of changes and development of society discovered by Marx and Engels, that it is essential first and foremost to focus on the main, principal motive forces of societal advance.

Society can develop in an orderly and purposeful manner only by steadily developing its PRODUCTIVE FORCES and continuously bringing PRODUCTION RELATIONS into conformity with them. But in order to find the most optimal forms of organization of production relations, and in particular new forms of organization of the production process, ALSO ESSENTIAL IS PROFOUND KNOWLEDGE OF THAT WHICH IS AND THAT WHICH SHOULD BE; INITIATIVE, BOLDNESS, AND GENUINELY REVOLUTIONARY SCOPE ARE ESSENTIAL.

We shall recall how many obstacles we had to surmount with the Abasha experiment. And in his speech at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, Comrade K. U. Chernenko highly praised the experience of the Abasha people, stressing that they, just as their colleagues in Latvia and Estonia, "APPROACHED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AGROINDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION PRIMARILY AS A PROBLEM OF ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLE WHO ARE LINKED BY A COMMON GOAL, INTEREST, AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE END RESULTS OF A COMMON JOB."

How much more lack of understanding will we have to overcome before the idea of partnership between scientists and production workers, advanced at our plenum on science, becomes daily practical reality? And yet all this constitutes a search for optimal forms of bringing production relations into conformity with today's (and tomorrow's) productive resources.

A thorough analysis of the state of the FOUNDATION AND SUPERSTRUCTURE, productive resources and production relations in our country at the contemporary stage in its development, contained in the speech by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, showed that WE HAVE A GREAT DEAL TO ACCOMPLISH TO IMPROVE BOTH IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION WORK, AS WELL AS TO IMPROVE PRODUCTION RELATIONS AND SPEED UP THE GROWTH OF PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES, WHICH IS THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK OF OUR SOCIETY.

We shall discuss the state of affairs which has developed in this domain in our republic. We shall begin with the STATE OF AND DEVELOPMENT OF Georgia's PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES at the present stage.

SOCIETY'S MAIN PRODUCTIVE FORCE IS, AS WE KNOW, MAN AND HIS LABOR ACTIVITY. The problem of man and the shaping of the individual occupied a special place in the proceedings of the Central Committee Plenum, and we see in this the main elements of that which was supported in the experience of the Georgian party organization,

since it was precisely THE PROBLEM OF MAN WHICH WAS PLACED AT THE FOCAL POINT OF ALL ACTIVITIES BY THE GEORGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY PERTAINING TO CARRYING OUT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECREE ON THE TBILISI CITY COMMITTEE.

As comrade K. U. Chernenko noted in his address, revolutionary transformation of society is impossible without changing man himself. We have been convinced through our own experience that the entire matter lies in man himself, that any undertaking must commence with man. We began the campaign to correct serious deficiencies in this republic's economic and social affairs precisely with indoctrination of man, with the forming and shaping of man, with the struggle for man, for everything human in him.

The process of intensification, OF THE MUTUAL INFLUENCE OF THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION AND ITS IDEOLOGICAL SUPERSTRUCTURE has also found vivid expression in economic indices. We submitted a brief report about this at the June Central Committee Plenum. I should like to discuss these indices today.

What has changed in this republic's economy in the last 10 years? May I remind you that volume of gross societal product has increased by a factor of 1.9; generated national income has doubled; gross industrial output has doubled, and gross agricultural output has increased by a factor of 1.6; capital investment in the nation's economy has increased by a factor of 1.7. The system of the nationwide campaign to reveal internal production reserve potential has made it possible to generate 1 billion 677 million rubles worth of above-target output. Retail sales have increased by a factor of 1.6; public consumption funds have increased by a factor of 1.8.

As a result of this, there has been a significant decrease in the republic's relative lag behind the national average level in all principal economic and social development indicators. There has correspondingly been an increase in Georgia's contribution to the national assets: this republic's share of generation of national income has increased from 1.3 to 1.7 percent. The following have been achieved through growth in societal labor productivity: 91 percent of national income growth, 80 percent of industrial output growth, and the total agricultural output growth.

It is important to note that not only has a higher than national average labor productivity growth rate been achieved in this republic's economy, but in addition this indicator HAS BEEN GROWING MORE RAPIDLY than wage growth. In the last two five-year plans, for example, the labor productivity growth rate for Georgia has been 73 percent, while the corresponding wage growth rate has been 37 percent. This trend is of particular significance in present-day conditions.

How will this republic's productive forces develop in the future?

Here is the immediate goal specified for the entire country by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum: INTRODUCE ORDER IN THAT WHICH WE ALREADY HAVE, AND ENSURE THE MOST INTELLIGENT UTILIZATION OF PRODUCTION AND SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL POTENTIAL.

Putting into order that which we already have means first and foremost increasing the rate of return on fixed productive assets. In the last decade the volume of fixed productive assets in the economy has almost doubled, reaching a total of 18.5 billion rubles. At the same time there are substantial deficiencies in reproduction of fixed productive assets, and their growth rate is inadequate. As of the beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plan the capital-labor ratio in the economy did not exceed 75 percent of the national average. Capital investment per capita for the period 1976-1980 in Georgia was 68 percent of the corresponding national average figure. The time required to build and bring on-line fixed productive assets and production facilities is decreasing slowly. In many instances a substantial portion of fixed assets becomes

obsolescent even before they are brought on-line, and there is an inadequate rate of renovation and technical rehabilitation of existing enterprises and renewal of fixed assets. The amount of equipment downtime is still considerable, and the equipment shift index is low. An inspection recently conducted by the People's Control Committee indicated that buildings and structures representing a total floor area of 60,000 square meters are presently empty or idle in this republic.

CORRECTION OF THESE DEFICIENCIES AND ACCELERATED OVERCOMING OF THE LAG BEHIND THE NATIONAL AVERAGE FIGURES FOR THE PRINCIPAL ECONOMIC INDICATORS CONSTITUTES THE GENERAL LINE OF SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT OF THIS REPUBLIC'S PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

We have a great deal to do in order to achieve a sharp upswing in agriculture -- we must boost efficiency of utilization of farmland, mineral and organic fertilizers, agricultural equipment, and we must better organize labor on kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

It was particularly stressed at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum: the principal way to achieve a qualitative improvement in productive forces is to transition to intensive development, PRACTICAL LINKING OF THE ADVANTAGES OF OUR SOCIALIST SYSTEM WITH THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION.

The Plenum stated the task of devising and adopting a system of organizational, economic, and moral measures which would provide equipment renewal incentive for executives, workers and, of course, scientists and designers, and would make operating in the old way disadvantageous. As has been stated, Gosplan, the Academy of Sciences, and the State Committee for Science and Technology are presently working on this task. The appropriate republic agencies should also become actively involved in resolving these problems. We must mobilize all instruments in order to implement A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL POLICY in a practical manner, a policy which, as was stated at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is today assuming decisive significance.

Since the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on Science, a solid foundation has been established in this republic in order to implement this task in a practical manner; a clear-cut system of managing scientific and technological advance has been formulated, beginning with the Republic Coordination Council for Science and Scientific-Technical Progress, established under the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and including the scientific-technical councils of the ministries and agencies. Now we must accelerate the formation of such councils in the regions, oblasts, cities, and rayons in this republic, enlisting prominent scientists and experts in their work. We hope that the Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology, Gosstroy, Gosplan, the Republic Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, branch scientific research and design-engineering institutes will give the requisite assistance in this matter.

I should like, comrades, to take counsel with you on what in my opinion is a very important question. Considering the work which has been accomplished and the experience of the people in Tbilisi, Abasha, Poti, Makharadze, Gardabani, and Khobskiy Rayon, and that turn on the part of party and economic activists toward problems of science and scientific and technological advance, which has now become reality, perhaps it is time to advance the TASK OF TRANSFORMING OUR ENTIRE REPUBLIC, ITS ENTIRE ECONOMY, AND ALL ITS REGIONS INTO A TESTING GROUND FOR ADOPTION OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES.

If this suggestion is given support, in the near future the Central Committee and Council of Ministers will draw up and submit more concrete and well-reasoned proposals for the consideration of Communists and all Georgian working people.

Improvement in the structure of employment and efficient utilization of labor resources constitutes a most important domain of all our activities. Ten years ago 1,950,000 persons were employed in societal production, while today the number totals 2,382,000. Thus an additional 432,000 persons have been added to the labor force. But there are still a great many unresolved problems in this area. At the present time hundreds of thousands of persons have not been drawn into societal production. Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems], together with Gosplan, other republic ministries and agencies, city and rayon party committees must seek out and mobilize all reserve potential for expanding the domain of application of labor. Local authorities are also called upon to work on resolving this acute socioeconomic problem.

The principal way to hold labor resources in place is to expand the network of branches of industrial enterprises, establishment of a co-production relationship between industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, more extensive utilization of the possibilities of Tsekavshir, and development of work-at-home arrangements in villages and towns. The task presently consists in speeding up the formulation of a combined program, a republic program for utilization of labor resources, which includes all these components. BOOSTING THE LEVEL OF UTILIZATION OF LABOR RESOURCES IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT COMPONENT PARTS OF GROWTH OF PRODUCTION FORCES.

Production relations have been improving apace with the growth and development of productive forces in this republic, as throughout the country.

As we know, production relations are, first of all, relations of ownership of the means of production. They exist in two forms in this country; state, and kolkhoz-cooperative. In the future both these forms of ownership will gradually merge into a single nation-wide form. However, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov stressed at the Central Committee Plenum, this will take place not by means of mechanical transformation of kolkhozes into sovkhozes. Practical experience indicates that there are other ways as well -- we have seen this in the experience of our republic; for example, AGROINDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION, AND DEVELOPMENT OF INTERKOLKHOZ AND KOLKHOZ-SOVKHOZ ASSOCIATIONS. There are more than 360 interfarm enterprises and organizations in this republic, established on the basis of shares participation by kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Establishment and development of agroindustrial complexes as a whole constitutes a significant step along the road of merging the two forms of socialist ownership.

The form of co-production between kolkhozes and sovkhozes on the one hand and personal, private farming operations on the other has been conceived and is evolving. This experiment requires further deepening and synthesis by our social scientists, particularly economists.

We stated at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum that experiment should become a customary phenomenon. Just as the development of science is impossible without experiments, societal affairs are also impossible without experiments, without a search for the new. The significance of experiments is assessed not only on the basis of economic results. We are dealing here with absolute ideological, moral-ethical effect; the character of thousands of people is shaped, and the entire intellectual mechanism swings into operation. Cadres became improved in an ideological respect.

Economic actions which are not backed up by experiment, which do not rely on a comprehensive scientific approach, which do not take public opinion into account, as well as incorrectly calculated quotas and even prices do no less ideological harm than the books and pamphlets of our class enemies. Costs in this domain are not unnoticed. Constitutional novations have made man more active. Today we cannot leave questions unanswered. Dialogue requires complete honesty and realism.

Discussing improvement of production relations, Yu. V. Andropov stressed the need for radical improvement in planning and management, elimination of unwarranted scattering of resources, lack of balance in plans, and a gap between available goods and personal income. These deficiencies are occurring in this republic as well. IT IS BOTH AN ECONOMIC AND A POLITICAL TASK TO ELIMINATE THE DISPROPORTION BETWEEN PERSONAL CASH INCOME AND PROVIDING THE PUBLIC WITH GOODS.

Or take another question, on the principle of socialist distribution according to labor. As we know, wages constitute the principal measure of labor, which ensures distribution of material goods in conformity with quantity and quality of labor. The principal way to achieve wage increase is to improve the efficiency of labor. It has been calculated that in order by the end of the five-year plan to reach the national average wage level for blue-collar and white-collar workers in this republic, we must secure an annual industrial output growth rate of 6.4-6.6 percent, chiefly through labor productivity growth. There is no other way to increase wages. Such a rate should also be taken in formulating our economic and social development plans.

In connection with these and other economic problems, we are faced with the acute problem of further improving and deepening economics education. As was stressed at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, we should work aggressively to form a new type of economic thinking. This is particularly essential in present-day conditions, with new organization of labor and the forming of cost-accountable brigades, when solid economics training is required not only by the brigade leader but also by every member of the brigade. It is now perfectly obvious that a cost-accountable brigade which is not operating on a work order, in the village, for example, cannot efficiently function without each individual possessing thorough economic and financial knowledge. This knowledge is essential in the production process proper, and it is precisely this concrete knowledge and the ability to grasp the primary economic and financial issues which should help in creating material goods, in increasing labor productivity, and in achieving high end results. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's Republic Council for Economics Education of Working People should innovatively approach all these problems and present practical recommendations and solutions.

It was emphasized at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum that development of production relations is today also placing new demands on organization of socialist competition. We have accomplished a great deal in this area. We have also had shortcomings, which we have repeatedly discussed. These include first and foremost attention to form with consequent detriment to content, and red tape. Comrades, we should give some thought to ensuring that the main directional thrust and principal content of socialist competition at the republic level is a campaign to BRING EACH AND EVERY ENTERPRISE UP TO THE LEVEL OF THE FINEST IN THE BRANCH, REPUBLIC, AND THE COUNTRY.

We must precisely formulate and concretize standards and principal performance levels determining the winner in socialist competition. The campaign to achieve plan-specified targets and accomplish economic tasks is truly a labor front, and achievement of a maximally high level of development of the economy for each region and for each organization is equivalent to a combat mission. Precisely such an approach is needed in evaluating the labor of each individual. The entire system of material and moral incentives should be reorganized in conformity with this. Only in this case will we be able to enhance the indoctrinational role of socialist competition.

One topic discussed at the Central Committee Plenum was purposeful mass-political work aimed at instilling conscious socialist discipline. For us this has always been one of the main, most important issues. One can state that we have gone through a certain stage in the campaign to strengthen discipline, and a specific system has been established from top to bottom in party and government agencies. As a result losses have been reduced and the number of lagging enterprises has diminished. Now we know how

to work. But what is lacking? What is lacking is concreteness and practicality, the ability to go to the heart of the matter. Errors of omission in this area become possible because people forget about the party's statement that the campaign to strengthen discipline is not a brief-duration campaign but rather daily, painstaking work, a most important reserve potential for development of the economy and improvement of developed socialism.

Cases of theft, abuses, and squandering of public assets indicate that the commissions and worker groups to strengthen discipline and combat negative phenomena attached to party committees, government and soviet agencies, in many instances exist only on paper. They exist, but it is essential that they operate.

Just what kind of a system to strengthen discipline is it if a major theft of state funds was discovered at the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry's Liloyskiy Combine for the storage, processing and sale of fruits and vegetables, where more than 800,000 rubles were embezzled, with criminal charges brought against several individuals, involving phony transactions with the Kaspi Trade Cooperative and a trade organization in Donetsk Oblast? And if criminal activities by sharp operators and schemers at the Anagskiy Winery in Signakhskiy Rayon, at the Bolnisi and Kaspi canneries, and at procurement organizations in Sukhumskiy and Galskiy rayons were possible?

The entire system of combating negative phenomena should avert and prevent crimes, not simply determine the fact that they have occurred. This means that we have not yet learned to control these processes and that we need to do that preventive work about which we endlessly talk, when thefts of socialist property and manifestations of private-ownership psychology and morality are occurring at many facilities of Minpishcheprom [Ministry of Food Industry], in particular within the republic Gruzkhlebkonditer Association system, at fruit juice enterprises, and in the canning industry. A spirit of empiricism without principle has not been totally eradicated from local industry system enterprises. Crimes of office and management are frequent in the service industry. A serious situation has developed in the agricultural goods procurement system.

Today we should like to restate that discipline begins in the office, with the supervisors. Therefore the highest degree of demandingness for precise, flawless order everywhere and in all things should be placed on supervisors at every level, and first and foremost the party official. This means that the supervisor must increase demandingness on each individual in party committees, in workforces, and in organizations, instilling in each and every Communist a strong feeling of responsibility for the assigned task, for one's assigned work sector. Only in this case, only with such an approach will we be able to achieve even greater strengthening of party, state, labor, production, and plan discipline -- at all levels, in all components.

The party constantly stresses the need to ensure a close link between economic and social policy. Considerable attention was also devoted to this problem at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum. In drawing up economic plans, we must learn thoroughly to take into consideration and reflect in those plans the most important factors of development of society -- social, national, and demographic. As Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov stated, THIS SHOULD BE A UNIFORM PARTY POLICY, A UNIFORM STRATEGY OF SOCIETAL DEVELOPMENT.

Problems of housing construction advance to the forefront. Excellent quantitative results have been achieved in this area in recent years. In the last two and a half years alone 2,685,000 square meters of housing have been completed for occupancy. This exceeds by 16.5 percent the housing completed in the corresponding period of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

In meeting housing completion targets, however, the capital amounts allocated for these purposes fail to be fully utilized, year after year. In the last two years this amount ran to almost 29 million rubles. Failure to spend allocated capital funds leads in certain measure to poor quality of housing. As a result many new tenants frequently must perform their own repairs, on which, according to the calculations of our Center for Study, Forecasting and Forming of Public Opinion, on the average approximately 28 rubles is spent per square meter of just-completed housing.

The problem of housing construction in this republic is additionally aggravated by the fact that in spite of the considerable work accomplished in recent years to do away with hut-type housing and living quarters in basements, one third of the designated program has not yet been accomplished. We must eliminate an additional approximately 174,000 square meters of such quarters, in which more than 23,000 persons are housed.

This problem becomes even more acute if one considers the fact that there are in Tbilisi alone more than 1,000 ramshackle and totally depreciated buildings, many of which are close to collapse. The situation is the same in Sukhumi, Batumi, Kutaisi, and other industrial centers.

The best political work with such population categories, with persons residing in such buildings, in such quarters -- is complete utilization of allocated capital funds. RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM IS NOT ONLY AN ECONOMIC BUT POLITICAL ISSUE AS WELL, AND IT IS OF ENORMOUS IDEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

The effectiveness of all our economic work is reflected, as at a focal point, in the domain of services -- retail trade and the service industry. We have a particularly large number of deficiencies precisely in this area, however. This republic's lag behind the national average figure in retail sales growth is improving extremely slowly. In 1982 the target for this indicator was revised downward 130 million rubles, but even the revised target was not met -- there was a 66 million ruble shortfall of goods made available to the public. The shortfall amounted to 70 million rubles for the first five months of this year. Officials at Mintorg [Ministry of Trade], Tsekasvhiri, other ministries and agencies with a trade network are not taking effective measures to put this branch into order. There are also unresolved problems in the service industry, although targets are being overfulfilled each year for the branch as a whole.

The problem of improving the quality of consumer goods is particular relevant. This is also a high-level policy matter. One's attention is drawn by the still high percentage of production-line reject and quality-downgraded goods. The percentage share of such goods is increasing particularly sharply in the Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry] system. The quality of products turned out by the republic Minmestprom [Ministry of Local Industry] fails to stand up to criticism.

It is the task of party and economic organs to mobilize a mechanism of management of product quality which would generate maximum incentive for enterprises, workers, scientists, and designers to produce top-quality goods.

Means of ideological influence are called upon to play an important role in resolving this problem, seeking to ensure that this incentive is evaluated not only in rubles but is also an indicator of people's highly conscientious attitude and innovative attitude toward their job.

Comrades! WE HAVE DISCUSSED ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT MATTERS IN SUCH DETAIL BECAUSE MARX, TO QUOTE ENGELS, DISCOVERED THE SIMPLE FACT THAT PEOPLE MUST FIRST OF ALL EAT, DRINK, HAVE SHELTER AND CLOTHE THEMSELVES BEFORE THEY ARE IN A CONDITION TO ENGAGE IN POLITICS, SCIENCE, ART, ETC.

To this we can add that people of course should possess good health, and therefore party social policy, as was stressed at the Plenum, will increasingly emphasize matters pertaining to health care. A great many useful achievements have been accomplished in the last decade in this republic within this area. But many problems still remain. Serious concern is aroused by the level of professional training of medical personnel. Rural and rayon, as well as some city health care facilities are still far from meeting requirements. A high incidence of sickness persistently continues in a number of rayons, and year after year the child mortality rate refuses to drop. But if we carefully examine certain branches of medicine, we shall see that we are performing at a provincial level and are seriously below the level achieved in Moscow, in the Ukraine, in other cities and republics. But nobody is honestly reporting this fact; nobody is informing the public.

The fact is that this is even evident to the naked eye. Just take a look at how many people from our republic are besieging Moscow medical facilities, going there to receive medical care. Apparently many officials at our medical facilities, branch institutes, and the Ministry of Health have lost their self-esteem. We expect more vigorous steps from the republic Minzdrav [Ministry of Health]. On the whole exemplary order should be established in this domain.

Sanatoriums, health resorts, and tourist facilities, the operations of which also contain serious deficiencies, require greater concern and attention on the part of party, soviet, and trade union agencies.

Speaking of tourism, a few days ago the newspaper KOMMUNISTI informed vacation travelers that they can make use of the tent camp of Tsekavshiri, set up in the high-mountain village of Shatili, to which they will be transported by helicopter. This is a fine thing. In connection with this we should like to mention the advisability of further development of this type of vacation facilities. This is a fundamental question, for such facilities will, on the one hand, help perform health-improvement functions, strengthening people's health, and acquainting them with the points of interest and beauty of their native region, and on the other hand will create conditions for increasing the income of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, consumer and other organizations operating in difficult mountain conditions, and will help keep the population from leaving the mountains, as well as promoting efficient utilization of labor resources. This problem is serious, and we must give serious thought to its solution.

Comrades! PERFECTING THE SOCIETY OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM SIGNIFIES FIRST AND FOREMOST CONSOLIDATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF ITS FOUNDATION, its economic structure, the aggregate of production relations forming the basis of all other social relations.

At the same time the CPSU Central Committee Plenum directs our attention to the fact that, in close interlinkage with profound qualitative changes in productive forces and with improvement of production relations, changes should also take place in people's consciousness, in all those forms of societal affairs which are generally called SUPERSTRUCTURE.

Thus what we are talking about is the DIALECTICS OF THE FOUNDATION AND SUPERSTRUCTURE. Yes, the nature of the superstructure is determined by the nature of the foundation. As we know, however, the superstructure in turn affects the foundation.

Consequently, TO STRENGTHEN AND IMPROVE OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM, TO ACHIEVE EFFICIENT DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ENTIRE ECONOMY, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO IMPROVE THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEM, ALL OUR SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE ENTIRE IDEOLOGICAL SUPERSTRUCTURE, AND ALL FORMS OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

II.

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov advanced as one of the party's main tasks in ideological work the task of ensuring a new, substantially higher level of ideological-theoretical work in the area of the social sciences, and particularly the economic sciences. He stated that we need a decisive shift to the relevant, practical tasks which life is placing before our society. THE SOCIAL SCIENCES SHOULD BECOME, TO AN EQUAL DEGREE WITH THE NATURAL SCIENCES, AN EFFECTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE PARTY AND THE ENTIRE PEOPLE IN ACCOMPLISHING THESE TASKS.

The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party devotes serious attention to development of the social sciences. Important decrees have been issued in the last decade on the activities of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of History of the Party, the Institute of Philosophy, Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, plus a number of others. The main theme in these party documents is the demand that the main efforts of social scientists be concentrated on accomplishment of the practical tasks facing party organizations and all this republic's toilers.

The social sciences have fine, rich traditions in Georgia. Today as well our social scientists are engaged in serious and interesting work in many areas. We have time and again noted with gratitude the assistance which they are giving us in solving many practical problems pertaining to Georgia's socioeconomic and cultural development. But today our social scientists are faced with more important tasks, which were discussed at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Our philosophers, on the basis of synthesis and interpretation of the historical experience of building a society of developed socialism in our country and the achievements of the contemporary natural, technical, and social sciences, should further develop dialectical and historical materialism, investigate more deeply the mechanisms of development of mature socialism and its gradual transition to communism, assimilate the new achievements of our philosophical science, including in its so-called nontraditional areas, further develop, in particular, the Marxist-Leninist philosophical concept of man, which must also be considered in our ideological-indoctrination work directed toward forming and shaping the new man, more vividly and intelligently reveal the humanistic essence of our society and our ideology, reveal the concrete ways to link the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system, a linkage which excludes the harmful social consequences of the scientific and technological revolution, and investigate the mechanism of development of the multiethnic and international culture of the new society, the ways and means of increasing the social and human values of the socialist society.

Our economists are faced with the highly honorable task of elaborating the problem of political economy of mature socialism, of revealing the deep-lying economic laws governing the further improvement of mature socialism, its gradual transition to communism and, on this basis, of deepening research on concrete problems of development of this republic's economy, formulating scientifically substantiated recommendations on matters of management and planning, stimulating the adoption of scientific and technological advances, and synthesizing experience amassed in this country in a number of economic experiments and on improving production relations.

All these points are unquestionably correct; they evoke no doubts whatsoever. But there is one problem which we should discuss in greater detail, since it is a matter of particular concern.

In the area of economic research, just as in other areas of the social sciences, there should be no so-called "forbidden topics," "forbidden areas," which the scholar-economist does not dare enter, fearing to evoke the displeasure of and

sometimes adverse treatment by some official, for his economic proofs and analytical inquiries run counter to the official version of the state of affairs in the economy which is to the liking of a given official.

You will recall that at the end of the 1960's and beginning of the 1970's, when our economists endeavored to reveal disproportions which had formed in our republic's economy and expressed alarm that this republic was not able to accomplish the principal plan targets, these economists were considered "disturbers of the peace" and their warnings remained a "voice crying out in the wilderness." And what was the upshot? Serious complications occurred in the 8th Five-Year Plan, performance results in the first two years of the 9th Five-Year Plan threatened disaster to the plan, and several major volume indicators began to decline. Enormous efforts were required, intensive efforts by the republic's entire party organization, all Communists, and our entire people in order to rectify the situation.

Can we tolerate this? If we expect practical recommendations of our economists, if we need their advice and believe that they can help us reach a correct decisions, then we obviously should listen to them and consider their opinion.

We are saying all this not for the purpose of focusing solely on the past. What is past is past. The point is not to make similar mistakes today and, particularly, tomorrow. We must also continue further developing our economy, raising it to a new and qualitatively higher level, and we must do this together with our economists, with their most active and committed participation. Today we expect of you, comrades, a profound and truthful analysis of the actual state of affairs in this republic's economy and practical recommendations on eliminating disproportions which still exist in the development of individual branches and regions.

It is for this reason that we today address an urgent appeal to you -- and more than that, a categoric demand: do not avoid acute issues; act more boldly in revealing shortcomings and the factors which cause "bottlenecks" in a given area of the economy; do not be concerned if your viewpoint is not fully in agreement with the position taken by officials at Gosplan and other branch and interministerial agencies in this republic.

This viewpoint will not always be correct, and it will not always be acceptable. But this is better than stagnation of economic thought, than sluggishness and routine, than fear of arousing somebody's displeasure. And we shall always find the correct path, the correct decision. It is for this purpose that we have collective bodies, collective opinion, and a willingness to take collective measures.

Today we must also state that affirmation of such an innovative attitude toward things, of such an innovative attitude by economists toward problems which arise depends in large measure on the Central Committee, on its leadership, the Central Committee Bureau and departments, on what kind of tone we set in our work, which demands and what tasks we advance, and what conditions we create for the performance of profound scientific research. To achieve this, we must open all the stops for genuinely innovative labor, for free actions by our economists. Otherwise things may go no further than stating the problem, with no practical results. We are counting heavily on a genuine breakthrough in this area.

Everything stated above also applies in equal measure to other areas of the humanities, the social sciences.

Of course specialists in the area of scientific communism cannot limit themselves to general dissemination of the advantages of our system. It is their direct duty to investigate the concrete social processes which take place in our society, to reveal

optimal ways to accomplish the social tasks which arise, and to disclose the concrete mechanisms of movement of our society. And all this must be done with very specific, concrete examples, based on concrete analysis.

We recently discussed in detail the large and important tasks facing party historical science on the occasion of awarding our Institute of History of the Party the Order of the Red Banner of Labor. We shall note only the main thing -- investigation of the glorious past of our party, of our party organization should be combined to an increasingly greater extent, better and deeper with investigation of the tasks of today and tomorrow.

There is evidently no need to discuss in detail the concrete tasks facing sociologists, psychologists, historians, jurists, and representatives of the other social sciences. It is merely essential that they be deeply aware of the fact that in today's conditions, when we have advanced to the forefront the task of achieving profound qualitative changes IN PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND IN PURPOSEFUL, PLANNED IMPROVEMENT IN PRODUCTION RELATIONS, THE SOCIAL SCIENCES SHOULD INCREASINGLY ENTER THE DOMAIN OF SOCIETAL PRODUCTION.

Advance by societal production is impossible today without combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system. One of the principal specific features of utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution under socialism consists in the necessity of taking into consideration not only the economic benefits and technological effectiveness of this utilization but also its potential influence on social and intellectual development of society, on the character of the interrelationship between society and the natural environment. All this determines a broadcasting of the functions of the social sciences in conditions of mature socialism and the necessity of utilizing the data obtained by these sciences both in drawing up and in implementing economic and social development plans.

There should be greater concern for enhancing the ideological-indoctrinational role of the social sciences. The highest goal of ideological-indoctrination work is formation of a comprehensively and harmoniously developed individual, the full revelation, to quote Marx, of all one's essential forces, and instillment of the most noble human qualities.

On the whole, comrades, we can state that the goals facing the social sciences are clear and well defined. THE FOLLOWING QUESTION STANDS OUT TODAY IN HIGH RELIEF: HOW CAN WE MATERIALIZE THE TASKS STATED BY THE JUNE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, AND HOW CAN WE INCREASE THE EFFICIENCY OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ESTABLISHMENTS, DEPARTMENTS, AND EACH INDIVIDUAL SCIENTIST?

Evidently we should first of all return to a revision of the scientific research topic material. Each study should be planned not so much in the interests of a concrete individual -- what I mean is the individual scientist -- but rather for the sake of end results, organically linked with the implementation of some relevant social, economic, or cultural program.

We must adhere to such a specific-program approach in final workup of the coordination plan for scientific research in the social sciences in the Georgian SSR for 1981-1985, ratified by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. This plan should foster a close interlinkage of academy, higher educational institution, and branch science, a concentration of efforts on accomplishing the practical tasks of building communism, and should become a most important instrument for managing development of the social sciences in our republic. We are assigning such a task to the Academy of Sciences,

Minvuz [Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education], the Institute of History of the Party and, first and foremost, the Central Committee departments.

In light of the demands of the June Plenum, we must also further concern ourselves with purity of the moral atmosphere at establishments of humanities specialization, and with establishing an atmosphere of broad discussion and debate over eradication of facts of liberalism and spinelessness manifested in reviewing writings by social scientists.

We must more extensively utilize amassed positive experience and know-how. One can cite a great many examples in this area, comrades. In particular, I should like to note with satisfaction that the Borzhomi meetings of our historians actively promoted a rise in the level of scientific research and played an important role in establishing mutual understanding and creative partnership among the various detachments of our social sciences. These meetings resulted in many works produced by Georgian, Russian, Abkhazian, and Ossetian historians. And it is precisely in this manner, through the joint efforts of scientists and scholars, that the complex problems of historical science should be resolved, and not only of historical science. This is a fundamental principle for us, and we must adhere rigorously to it. There can be no decision based on somebody's will here. Final conclusions in historical science can and should be based only on authentic data, facts, events, and documents.

Thus the five years which have passed since the commencement of the annual Borzhomi historian get-togethers have convincingly confirmed their unquestionable fruitfulness. The groundlessness of the opinion of those who once opposed organization of such a useful undertaking has now become particularly obvious.

The Borzhomi get-togethers should become even more substantial and interesting in form with each passing year. At the same time it would be desirable to hold separate get-togethers, similar to the Borzhomi ones, of philosophers, psychologists, economists, sociologists, jurists, and our literary scholars -- representatives of all the social sciences. They could be held in Tbilisi, Sukhumi, Batumi, Tskhinvali, Telavi, and in other of this republic's cities and rayon seats.

Incidentally, such get-togethers, offering an annual summarization of progress achieved, should definitely be held not only in the area of the social sciences. We were just speaking about medicine. Why should surgeons and representatives of other branches of this science, for example, not summarize the results of their activities on an annual basis? Why should teachers not to do the same thing -- after all, education science is of a totally practical significance -- as well as representatives of the natural-technical sciences, etc?

Discussion of professional issues in an atmosphere of mutual demandingness and good will has a lot to offer. We feel that we should find organizational forms which can raise the deep-lying strata of our science and make its achievements accessible to all of society.

Such an approach and such get-togethers will make it possible to summarize in a truly businesslike manner the development achievements of our social sciences over a year's time and to define tasks for the future, to concretize for the future the activities of scientific establishments of this area of specialization, and will help party committees draw closer together with all detachments of our social scientists.

This is also a practicable way to bring ideology closer to the realities of life. Problems pertaining to the further development of the social sciences should occupy the center of attention of our party committees.

And one more thing. We should readdress, and without delay, the state of affairs regarding the training and refresher training of social scientist cadres. Evidently not everywhere has there yet been the proper attitude of responsibility toward implementing the CPSU Central Committee instructions contained in the very important decree on this matter.

III.

It was stressed at the June Plenum that forming of a Marxist-Leninist ideological outlook constitutes the solid foundation of Communist indoctrination. Defining the tasks of ideological-theoretical conditioning of Soviet citizens, Yu. V. Andropov emphasized at the Plenum that an important role in this should be played by change in the work style of our mass political education and mass political training system. We must first and foremost put an end to excessive attention to form with consequent detriment to content, and we must put an end to mechanical, rote learning (or reading off a text) of various general theses, separated from practical realities.

Proceeding from these demands, we must REORGANIZE IN EARNEST THE OPERATIONS OF THE SYSTEM OF MARXIST-LENINIST EDUCATION, RELYING THEREBY ON AMASSED EXPERIENCE AND KNOW-HOW. I EMPHASIZE -- WE MUST REORGANIZE THIS WORK.

We possess positive experience. Party committees and organizations do a great deal to draw theoretical training closer to this republic's vital problems. Especially useful in this regard is the work done by members of the Central Committee, its bureau, officials of republic ministries and agencies as propagandists at schools and seminars set up in workforces.

At the same time there is still a great deal of formalism in this work.

Fairly recently the Central Committee Bureau received a report by one of our best propagandists, head of a school of scientific communism, Comrade D. G. Okribelashvili, chief engineer at the Tbilisi Production Association imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR. An interesting, businesslike, concrete discussion was held. This discussion revealed many urgent issues and overall deficiencies in the handling of mass political education and indoctrination work with propagandist activists. I believe that it would be useful to adopt the presentation of such reports into the practical activities of all party committees. The necessity for this is dictated by instances of a superficial attitude toward things by some party city and rayon committees. There is no other explanation for the fact that in Gurdzhaanskiy Rayon, for example, almost 65 percent of workers employed in the sphere of material production have not been involved in a single form of Marxist-Leninist education.

Overcoming of formalism in political training must begin with indoctrination propagandists, with concern about their authority with the public. A better job should be done of selecting propagandists. It would be a good thing to discuss their candidacy in advance with enrolled personnel, in order to learn the group's opinion of them.

Political education houses and offices should give greater assistance to propagandists in studying training course materials and in providing them with informational-methodological formulations. We have many errors of omission and inadequacies in this area. Obviously the Republic Political Education House should give some thought to establishing a uniform system of information and methodological support to propagandists.

As was stated at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, THE MEANING OF POLITICAL EDUCATION IS IN ENABLING EACH INDIVIDUAL TO UNDERSTAND PARTY POLICY MORE THOROUGHLY IN CONDITIONS OF THE PRESENT DAY, WITH EACH PERSON BEING ABLE TO APPLY ACQUIRED KNOWLEDGE IN A PRACTICAL MANNER AND TO GAIN A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF ONE'S OWN DUTY AND THE ABILITY TO PERFORM THAT DUTY IN A PRACTICAL MANNER.

An idea should not remain "an idea within itself." An idea must materialize in concrete actions, in productive labor by a concrete workforce and a concrete individual.

Today, in light of the new Law on Workforces passed by the 8th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the task of enhancing the role of primary party components in ideological-political indoctrination of working people is becoming particularly important. Today, when workforces have been given such extensive rights in management of enterprises, establishments, and organizations, the functions of propagandists, agitators, and political briefers are changing qualitatively and are broadening. It is necessary constantly and persistently to seek out and find new, improved forms of propaganda, mass-political work, for example, to put together groups of persons enrolled in schools and seminars on the principle of production teams, working according to the brigade contract method. In this connection we can point to the experience of the party organizations at the Tbilisi Aircraft Plant imeni Dimitrov, the Zhinvali GES, and the kolkhoz in the village of Tkviavi in Goriyskiy Rayon. Political organizers have been designated here, as an experiment, in the brigades, shops, and sections. This practice is making it possible better to combine group and individual work with the masses and more aggresively to enlist brigade leaders and foremen in political indoctrination work.

We must continue looking for new work forms which ensure unity and coalescence of ideological-indoctrination and political work with organizational and economic management work, which was so strongly emphasized at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Wherever this unity is disturbed, serious deficiencies occur in all domains of activity. One need not go far for an example. This is precisely what happened in the Terzholskiy Rayon party organization, and this is a good party organization. In spite of the fact that in the last decade a great many new social-services and cultural facilities have in fact been built in this rayon, interesting mass-political measures have been conducted, and new people's holidays have been adopted, not all farms in the rayon are profitable, and a serious lag formed in development of the public sector of agricultural production. Mass-political work became patently separated from practical socioeconomic activities. There are many such examples, and they may be even more striking in other regions. I mentioned Terzholskiy Rayon because this matter was recently discussed at the Central Committee Bureau.

One cannot approach narrowly problems of ideological support of accomplishment of economic tasks, defining them merely as dissemination of advanced know-how and organization of economics training. TO PROVIDE IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT FOR ACHIEVING OPTIMAL END RESULTS IN PRODUCTION ACTIVITY AND THE SOCIOCULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF A WORKFORCE MEANS WORKING DAILY, IN A DIFFERENTIATED MANNER, WITH INDIVIDUALS, BEING CONSTANTLY CONCERNED WITH THEIR NEEDS AND INTERESTS, FINDING AN OPTIMAL COMBINATION OF PERSONAL AND PUBLIC INCENTIVE TO ACHIEVE HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE LABOR.

It is evident in the example of Akhmetskiy Rayon what results from separating ideological, organizational work from concrete socioeconomic tasks, one might ask what is the value of ideological, mass-political measures, and there is no shortage of these, if they fail to produce a proper result, if in recent years the state of affairs in agriculture in this rayon has greatly deteriorated: grain production is half the 1980 figure, grape production -- there are objective reasons for this -- has decreased to 45 percent of the former figure, meat -- there are no objective factors involved here -- has declined to 40 percent of the previous figure, milk -- to 83 percent, and production of coarse feeds -- to 77 percent. Communal farm operations ended last year with a loss of 3,400,000 rubles. Almost all farm operations are operating at a loss, while labor productivity and return on capital declined to 56 and 40 percent respectively of the previous figures.

Other party rayon committees, such as the Tianetskiy and Ambrolaurskiy, for example, where lack of an organic unity of ideological, organizational, and economic activities has led to a serious lag in economic and social development, also failed to draw proper conclusions from the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee decree on Tsiteltskaroyskiy Rayon pertaining to ideological support of performance of socioeconomic tasks. And on the contrary, wherever ideological support is well organized, economic results are always excellent. Fortunately such examples do exist.

Cadres are the key component of ideological work. The plenum demanded that all party committees have specially trained cadres capable of skillfully organizing ideological work with various population groups.

In recent years much has been done in the Georgian party organization to improve selection, placement, and indoctrination of ideological cadres. In 10 years the number of economic specialists among ideological workers has increased by a factor of 2.5, persons possessing an academic degree -- by 25 percent, persons under 40 years of age -- by a factor of 1.5, and women -- by almost 40 percent.

The practice is being followed of designating a probationary period for party committee secretaries for ideology, as well as presentation of reports by these secretaries in Central Committee ideological departments, organization of ideological cadre schools, and special classes in advanced training courses under the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. An annual republic seminar-conference of ideological workers has proven effective.

There still are deficiencies and errors of omission here, however. We must make every effort to raise the level of competence of ideological cadres in party rayon and city committees, to teach them to accomplish priority tasks in a combined matter, and corretly to plan all mass-political work taking into account the specific features of the socioeconomic conditions of a given region, social-demographic, ethnic, and occupational specific features of various population groups.

Hence the task of intensifying ideological-theoretical training of cadres at the rayon and city level, developing in them practical skills of managing ideological processes. It is essential to improve forms of raising their level of qualifications which have proven effective, devoting particular attention to special party training of ideological activists, regularly sending officials for training to party schools. Special attention must be devoted to work with ideological cadres in primary party organizations, seeking to ensure their stability, for the frequent shifting of propagandists, political briefers, and agitators greatly hinders the conduct of purposeful, consistent ideological work within the group.

Top-echelon officials should take an increasingly more active part in classes given by schools and seminars within the Marxist-Leninist education system, in unified political education days, sociopolitical readings, discussion clubs, in "dialogues" with mass audiences, in the press, on television and radio, and in various forms of oral propaganda. Our leader cadres, including Central Committee secretaries and bureau members, must appear more frequently on television, come into more frequent contact with the people, and utilize all opportunities for discussion with the general public and with each individual.

A particularly important role in guidance of ideological and mass-political work is played by the first secretaries of party committees, who should not avoid these issues. Since ideological work IS THE BUSINESS OF THE ENTIRE PARTY, and this is a principle stated at the CPSU Central Committee Plenu, the PREEMINENT INDIVIDUALS in each party committee should also directly address this matter. We should like officials of all rayon and city committees to become deeply cognizant of this.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum particularly stressed the need to increase the responsibility for effectiveness of indoctrinational work not only of party and soviet but also of economic officials. A great deal has been accomplished in this republic toward this end. The institution of deputy heads of ministries, agencies, enterprises and organizations for cadres and indoctrinational work has been established. Few practical results have yet been produced, however.

Lecture propaganda requires further improvement. To achieve this it is necessary that our leading scientists, specialists, and commanders of production take more active part in the work of the Tsodna Society. Large and earnest tasks face the lecturer group of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and we hope that they will be successfully accomplished.

The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum assigned the task of more aggressively and innovatively applying the rich arsenal of means of education and indoctrination, considering in particular the substantially higher level of education and the aspirations of Soviet citizens.

As Comrade Yu. V. Andropov stated, there is a great deal for us to learn here, and our principal adversaries along this road are formalism, predictable routine, timidity, and sometimes mental laziness as well.

The correct way to eradicate formalism is to carry the true word to the masses, boldly to reveal deficiencies, mistakes and errors of omission, honestly and openly to discuss difficult problems with the people, to pay close heed to public opinion, to tell people the truth, to promise only that which is accomplishable, and to carry out the promises without fail.

Much has been provided in this regard by the system of studying public opinion which has been adopted in this republic. The Georgian Communist Party was named among party organizations whose work in this area was praised at the June Plenum. As always, the newspaper PRAVDA made a positive contribution to this effort in very profound and substantial articles and studies. Naturally we feel a great deal of satisfaction from the fact that this cause, which we espoused as far back as 1975, has aroused such a stir throughout the country. For the sake of fairness we must state that Comrade T. M. Dzhafarli has done a great deal in this area.

Our sociologists are now faced with more complex tasks. There is much to be done by the Center for Studying, Forming and Forecasting Public Opinion in order to help our cadres master the methodology of translating the language of actual facts into the language of social statistics, to incorporate scientific methods into party work, and to devise a scientifically substantiated system of concrete criteria of effectiveness of the ideological indoctrination process.

IV.

THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM DEVOTED PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE CURRENT TASKS OF THE MASS MEDIA AND AGENCIES OF THE PRESS IN IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT OF PARTY DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY. Positive changes have been noted in recent years in the activities of this republic's mass media; the forms of their participation in resolving key problems of our development have been defined, dialogue with the mass audience has become more lively, and there has been a more practical turning to public opinion, primarily through extensive publicity and accountability in the activities of management agencies and specific officials. Thus there developed greater opportunities for active participation by working people in resolving the most relevant problems of societal affairs. It was precisely these qualitatively new trends which predetermined in large measure an appreciable increase in the degree of political-

commentary saturation, relevance, up-to-dateness, and competence of the articles published in the newspapers KOMUNISTI and ZARYA VOSTOKA, the materials of GruzINFORM, in television and radio broadcasts.

A number of initiatives by editorial staffs gained widespread approval. In particular, we should note organizational work done by the editors of the newspapers SOVETAKAN VRASTAN, SOVET GYURDZHUSTANY, and SOPLIS TSKHOVREBA in matters pertaining to practical economic management.

We should state that significant changes for the better have recently occurred in the performance of the editorial staff of the newspaper TBILISI. Its example indicates once again that the local press can do a great deal and can greatly assist the party in accomplishing acute and complex social, economic, and political tasks. The same can be said about the newspaper AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI.

At the same time, comrades, we also have many unresolved problems. As was stressed at the Plenum, every piece that appears in print AND EVERY SPEECH SHOULD GENERATE ENTHUSIASM AND SHOULD CONVINCE PEOPLE BY ITS DEPTH OF PENETRATION OF PRACTICAL REALITIES, BY ITS HIGH PRINCIPLES, KEEN THINKING, AND BRILLIANCE OF STYLE.

Let us be quite frank about this: do many materials produced by our journalists meet these requirements? How frequently there predominates in these materials a mere statement of facts and phenomena without proper interpretation, analysis of cause-and-effect relationships, without appropriate conclusions and a search for ways to solve a given problem. At times our journalists lack sophistication and a political flare in discussing various facts.

We must specifically mention the role of our press, television and radio in improving the propagandist-agitation process. A lack of proper attention toward theoretical propaganda, analysis and synthesis of advanced know-how in ideological work, political and economic education of the masses, and military-patriotic indoctrination of youth greatly diminishes the effectiveness of the party's ideological arsenal.

Forms of dissemination of advanced know-how are impoverished and unoriginal, and consequently so is its adoption and spread, which is simply impossible without effective assistance by the mass media.

One is also concerned by a certain one-sidedness in the directional thrust of subject matter treated by the mass media. For example, treatment of problems of economy and thrift, scientific and technological progress, and the campaign to strengthen labor discipline is fairly good in this republic, although not in all publications, to be quite honest, and at the same time one observes a decline in the treatment of such relevant subject matter as improving the performance of the service industry, the campaign against harmful traditions and customs, and in explaining the qualitatively new social functions of the workforce.

These and other tasks are closely linked with the practical business of planning the work of the mass media. The extensive use of campaigns which is frequently observed, and the appearance of chance articles are due first and foremost to deficiencies precisely in this area.

The effectiveness of articles depends to no less a degree on the ability of journalists not only to address a problem of wide public interest but also to complete a job once begun, to push on, as we say, to a final result. And it is precisely here that our comrades are lacking. This applies first and foremost to problem, critical articles.

Recently at the Central Committee Secretariat we heard a report submitted by Comrade G. V. Bedineishvili, which brought out the fact that out of 199 critical articles published in the newspaper KOMUNISTI in 1982, 102 evoked no response. Of course the Central Committee will call strictly to account those officials of ministries, agencies and local organizations who display such an irresponsible attitude toward critical articles appearing in the Central Committee organ. Incidentally, a great many articles appearing in the central press do not evoke adequate response.

But we must also make every effort to enhance the organizer role of the newspapers. The prestige of the mass media also depends on the level of this role. This is a Leninist demand, and all of you remember it well.

Unfortunately we are still forced to speak about elements of haste, superficiality, and occasional political underestimation in discussing certain facts and phenomena of Georgian life, which frequently evokes an unhealthy response. Such instances should be eliminated both in the activities of the mass media and of the publishing houses. We have repeatedly conducted serious discussions at the Central Committee Bureau on these matters.

Tasks pertaining to improving the operations of agency journals were stated at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. We also have a great many problems here. A number of ministries, agencies, and their boards give practically no guidance to their publications and underestimate their role in managing the branch. A more practical attitude should be taken in dealing with work of the agency press within the Central Committee edifice, including in the branch departments, which are directly charged with guiding, focusing on problems, and evaluating this performance.

An acute problem at the present time is that of journalist cadres, the level of competency, professional skill, and specialization of whom among the various sectors of the economy, science, and culture determines the effectiveness of the press. The Central Committee Bureau has adopted decisions aimed at improving the system of training, refresher training, and raising the qualificational level of journalists, especially of the municipal and rayon press. Certain steps in this direction have been undertaken by the Union of Georgian Journalists, the faculty of journalism and officials at Tbilisi University, but no real, practical results have yet been achieved.

Problems of the rayon, large-circulation press demand serious attention by party committees. We have dozens of these publications -- in every city, town, and rayon. And it is a question here not only of a shortage of and inadequate professional level in cadres and inadequate printing facilities base, but also insufficient ability on the part of many party committees to guide the activities of their newspapers in the proper direction and to concern themselves with their prestige.

We recently became acquainted with the newspapers of several rayons, and unfortunately failed to find a single interesting article or a single critical remark directed toward a specific official or other specific individual. This means, I repeat, that party committees are doing a poor job in dealing with the local press.

For a long time now the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee propaganda and agitation department has been developing proposals pertaining to reorganizing the operations of rayon newspapers for the purpose of more efficiently combining specific ideological directional thrust with their size and frequency of publication. Apparently the search for an optimal "face" of rayon newspapers must be accelerated, and there should be more bold experimentation.

Now a few words about the state of affairs in book publishing. In spite of the fact that in the last two years the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has issued several decrees pertaining to all aspects of Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade] activities, the pace of its reorganization is patently inadequate. One of course can point to objective difficulties, including obsolete printing plants and a shortage of paper and skilled personnel. These and a number of other problems are being resolved today with the aid of USSR Goskomizdat. Nevertheless we should look more deeply into the subjective causes and correct these deficiencies step by step.

We have addressed matters pertaining to profitability of book publishing and improvement of the planning system, and we have devised what would seem to be optimal ways to correct deficiencies. It is high time to expect genuine improvements. Nevertheless, on the background of the problems mentioned above, one is concerned by the fact that little-relevant books continue to be published, sometimes on a happenstance basis, and there occur violations of plan discipline and royalty policy. And yet at the same time we are literally starving for imaginative and reference literature, scientific texts, children's books, textbooks, etc.

There is an obvious need here for a radical reorganization of the editing and publishing process, increased responsibility on the part of publishing house officials, and greater ideological-political and professional competence on the part of editorial staff and oversight services. Problems pertaining to improving the quality of book printing demand a substantially more serious approach.

Substantial deficiencies also continue to exist in organization of the book trade and book publicity.

V.

In all our ideological indoctrination work it is essential constantly to bear in mind the steadily increasing role of intellectual culture in the affairs of our society.

Effectiveness of ideological work and consequently the intellectual shaping of working people depend in large measure on the level of development of literature and art and on how firmly they are linked to the life of the people and the extent to which they reflect crucial problems of the contemporary era.

Positive changes have taken place in this republic in recent years in the in ellectual affairs of the people, and we have discussed these on numerous occasions.

In light of the decisions of the June CPSU Central Committee PLenum, it is becoming particularly obvious that Leninist teaching on the party-mindedness and popular character of literature and art as well as Leninist principles of attitude toward the creative intelligentsia and toward persons active in literature and the arts are being taking on a new and quite particular meaning.

A sensitive, solicitous attitude toward talent and supporting it should be combined without fail with its proper and purposeful focusing toward awareness by the artist of his involvement in the problems of the time, in the interests of the party and people. Art cannot lag behind the objective demands advanced by life and the contemporary stage of improvement of the society of developed socialism. ART IS CALLED UPON TO INDOCTRINATE PEOPLE IDEOLOGICALLY, POLITICALLY, MORALLY, TO INSTILL IN THEM THE LOFTY IDEALS OF PATRIOTISM, HUMANITY, AND GENUINE INTERNATIONALISM.

A characteristic feature of the themes and problems addressed at the contemporary stage of development of the literature and art of Soviet Georgia is a close linking of the theme of labor with ethical, moral problems, problems of the meaning of a person's life, his place and function in society, his relationship to higher spiritual values and to the general human problems of the contemporary era.

This has ensured increased interest in our art throughout our country and abroad. These successes, however, must be consolidated, comrades. The people who are active in our literature and our art must listen to life more deeply and sincerely, must be active participants and investigators of life, for it is no secret that superficial works are sometimes published, creating merely the appearance of knowledge of life. Critical inspiration of art is fruitless without depth of understanding of the addressed problem, without sincere pain for the difficulties which have not yet been overcome in our lives.

Placing high demands on people active in art and literature, we must also give constant thought to genuine, practical assistance to them. All of us must show greater concern for improving living conditions and conditions for creative activity by young people. We seek out and support in every possible way those gifted representatives of the young creative intelligentsia who endeavor to help us advance, who critically comprehend existing deficiencies and who seek ways to correct them.

While stating the goal of having creative youth address contemporary problems, we must at the same time wage a campaign against opportunism, when attempts to pass off immature work as a work of art are undertaken under the banner of relevance.

Particular attention at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum was devoted to problems of criticism. We must frankly admit that criticism in this country is not yet at an adequate level of accomplishment, although some improvement is occurring. Sometimes it ignores works which are ideologically weak, fails to give a clear-cut party assessment of works, and fails to point out to the authors their errors. Unions of creative artists and editorial staffs of journals dealing with literature and art must make every effort to foster a radical improvement in the professional and ideological level of our literature and art criticism.

We should focus attention today on strengthening the influence of literature and art on people's minds and hearts, on fuller realization of the vast ideological-indoctrinational potential of Soviet art, which is national in form, socialist in content, and internationalist in character and directional thrust.

Unfortunately today we have been unable to discuss more concretely and to the point the problems of our contemporary literature and art. Many interesting questions have accumulated, and there are serious deficiencies as well as considerable reserve potential.

It seems to me that reserve potential is to be found first and foremost in the organizational work of our unions of creative artists. Indeed a great deal can be accomplished here. We have no right to ignore and fail to exert influence on a single worker in the creative arts -- this is just as specific a job as are daily party activities. But very frequently, when we do not work specifically, we suddenly discover that a person's ideological outlook has formed differently than how we wanted it to form, and at this point it is difficult to correct.

Therefore we should synthesize amassed experience, with the participation of the creative intelligentsia, and define more concretely and in a more practical manner the tasks of the republic party organization in this area.

VI.

THE JUNE PLENUM DEVOTED PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE TASKS OF COMMUNIST INDOCTRINATION OF YOUTH. A paramount role in shaping the character and personality of young people is played by teaching of the social sciences, to which we must direct special attention. And yet the results of a survey of students at 18 higher educational institutions in this republic indicated that one out of every four students believes that social sciences courses fail to provide him with new information. Almost half expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that lecturers avoid frank discussion of acute issues, or else their replies to such questions lack completeness and convincingness.

Life is dynamic. It advances a great many problems to which textbooks do not always provide an answer. But these questions exist, and they cannot be avoided -- it is necessary to look for answers and to march in step with the times. Avoidance of giving a direct answer to a question which is of keen interest to a young person may engender doubts in that person's consciousness. Social sciences teachers should give thought to the question of what will subsequently fill the resultant gap in a young person's knowledge. It is essential maximally to concentrate the efforts of party committees, officials at the GSSR Minvuz, Minpros [Ministry of Education], Gosprofobr [State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education], academy institutes, educational institutions, and departments on achieving as rapidly as possible decisive progress in this most important area of Communist indoctrination of youth.

Unquestionably positive experience has been acquired here as well. But who can name a social sciences lecturer or teacher who conducts classes in an exemplary manner, who enjoys great popularity, and who answers all questions? While at secondary schools we seek out and find teachers who serve as a teacher standard, this is not done in the area of political education, and the experience of leading teachers is not synthesized. This also constitutes reserve potential.

We know that ideological conditioning and political maturity of young people are impossible without their active involvement in socially useful labor. We must firmly pursue a course of policy, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov stressed at the Plenum, directed toward developing in schoolchildren the habit of and love for useful labor. This can be physical or intellectual labor, but definitely labor -- productive, needed by society.

That which our school has amassed in the area of labor indoctrination, and it has amassed a great deal of valuable experience, should be utilized more intelligently, efficiently, with full return on effort. We still have a great many unresolved problems here, however. Even at the finest schools, where labor education seems to be well organized at first glance, only half of the graduates take employment or continue studies in the labor training specialization area they followed in school. This obviously is the case of a patently inadequate level of labor instructor professional and pedagogic qualifications. The situation is poor as regards logistic support for the labor indoctrination of young people enrolled in school. This republic is in 13th or 14th place nationally in development of training-production combines and establishment of training shops. We party, local, and economic management officials must bear a portion of the responsibility for this.

Things are no better in the vocational education system: at urban vocational schools requirements in production training funds are being met by only 45 percent, while this republic is the country's worst as regards providing rural vocation schools with tractors and combines. This indicates that our party and economic officials are not thinking about tomorrow, about the new generation of kolkhoz peasantry.

The problem of finding suitable employment for vocational school graduates also continues to be a difficult one. Out of 38,000 graduates in 1982, for example, 11,000 were not secured solid employment. The experience of the people of Leningrad and Sverdlovsk in the area of job placement and securing employment for young workers is not being adopted very firmly. If we consider that in conditions of a shortage of labor resources, up to the end of 1990 we must train more than 110,000 skilled workers each year, the crucial nature of this problem becomes obvious.

Considerable work is being done in this republic on military-patriotic indoctrination of youth. A fairly effective system has been established, providing coordination of efforts by party, soviet, and Komsomol agencies, military commissariats, military units and subunits, educational institutions, and public organizations. There has occurred a qualitative improvement in the group of induction-age young men, and there has been an increase in the number of young men from this republic enrolling in service schools. The command authorities and political officials of the Red-Banner Transcaucasus Military and Border Districts provide considerable assistance in all this work.

The present world situation, however, dictates the necessity of intensifying indoctrination of political vigilance and ideological-moral firmness in young people, as well as their physical conditioning and military training.

Greater attention must be devoted to strengthening the health of the younger generation. We are very concerned by the fact that 20 percent of persons graduating from general-curriculum schools are in a poor state of health, that more than half of all persons enrolled in secondary schools and higher educational institutions do not know how to swim, and that only 30 percent of the student body is involved in the sports sections established at our schools. Our young people have little interest in taking part in physical culture and sports. Insufficient attention is being devoted to the development of children's and youth sports. Hence our lack of success in high-level sports, sports festivals and all-union competitions. All these things are consequences of past mistakes. But that which was not properly done in the past must be more efficiently and competently corrected in the present. We expect of the new leadership of the republic Sports Committee, and not only of them, more resolute reorganziation of operations and a more aggressive and firm position regarding the solving of urgent problems pertaining to the further development of physical culture and sports.

I should like to mention one other item -- problems of family upbringing and increasing the role and responsibility of parents in the political and ideological-moral shaping of the younger generation. Mistakes in family upbringing are difficult to correct, and they become the cause of moral abnormalities among youth. Some parents, raising their children in hothouse conditions, encouraging in them a desire to live off others, individualism, and unreasonable wants, essentially do harm both to their children and to our entire society.

Meriting attention in this connection is the experience of Leninskiy Rayon in the city of Tbilisi and Zestafonskiy Rayon in organizing ideological indoctrination work in families with problems, with hard-to-handle teenagers, on increasing the personal responsibility of the members of workforces for the moral-political countenance of their children, and on organizing work with parents.

THE SOCIAL COUNTENANCE OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE HAS CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY IN RECENT YEARS, AS HAVE CONDITIONS OF LIFE; NEW PROBLEMS AND NEW TASKS HAVE ARISEN, AND THEY ALL DESERVE THE CLOSEST ATTENTION. We should evidently discuss them in detail at a special Central Committee plenum prior to the 27th Georgian Communist Party Congress.

VII.

One of the main directional thrusts in the ideological activity of this republic's party organizations is a campaign against private-ownership trends and other harmful carryovers from the past, and consolidation of new socialist traditions, ceremonies and customs in the life of our working people. The CPSU Central Committee Plenum focused precisely on this, in stating the task of SKILLFULLY AND INNOVATIVELY PROPAGANDIZING THE SOVIET WAY OF LIFE AND THE FUNDAMENTAL VALUES OF SOCIALISM.

In the last 10 years a great deal has been accomplished in this republic toward overcoming antisocial phenomena, and a certain amount of positive experience has been amassed. We must ensure that the campaign against private-ownership trends is of a comprehensive nature and is conducted on a broad front, combining a system of economic, social, organizational and ideological indoctrination measures with strictly administrative measures.

Practical experience has shown that wherever this principle is observed, genuine progress is achieved in the campaign against illegal freelance working on the side, against parasitism, and against various types of criminal actions. Such an approach should be applied not only by regional administrative authorities but also in the practical activities of our ministries, agencies, public organizations, and administrative authorities.

Consumer psychology in large measure constitutes costs of our ideological indoctrination work. When discussing the instilling of habits of reasonable consumption, one must bear in mind not only the campaign against bearers of private-ownership psychology, crass materialism, acquisitiveness, and against persons living on nonlabor income. The task, comrades, is broader -- good consumption habits should be an integral feature of the socialist way of life.

One must constantly bear in mind thereby, however, that this is a very basic question, that one can speak of reasonable and intelligent consumption only when people are provided with the basic necessities. Therefore we should consider ensuring that maximum material goods are created for the people to be a priority task for us. In connection with this there arises the problem of a thrifty, economical attitude toward society's wealth.

I remember that at last October's Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum Comrade V. I. Vashakidze, director of the Scientific Research Institute for Occupational Hygiene and Occupational Diseases, spoke about the need to teach people good dietary habits. This is an extremely important and far from simple matter, although at the time some people responded to it somewhat ironically. After all, the problem of proper diet is an acute one in this country, and educational efforts must be conducted constantly, skillfully, persuasively, for it involves both the fate of the Food Program and the campaign for the physical and moral health of our citizens. At this point I should also like to mention our table customs, which have rich traditions. The people of our time, while preserving all the good and fine elements of these traditions, should conduct the most resolute campaign against all excesses which distort the fine traditions of our people.

Goods exist to serve man, to create a happy attitude, comfort, conditions for creative development, not for the purpose of being the focus of phony prestige and a blind chase after the stylish and popular. Things, as a certain journalist graphically put it, should not restrict movement of the soul.

A priority rate of development of the individual's social, intellectual, and cultural-spiritual needs is a most important feature of developed socialism. And the problem of intelligent utilization of leisure time is becoming particularly relevant in this connection as well. Karl Marx called leisure time society's greatest wealth, since

it is leisure time which should give man the opportunity to achieve full development and discovery of all his essential capabilities, the opportunity, as we say today, for comprehensive and harmonious development, in which Marx also saw an end in itself, the highest goal of man's history.

Much still remains to be done by us in organizing intelligent leisure time activities. Study of the time budget of working people indicates how much time is still spent on household chores and on traveling to and from work. And yet leisure time is not always utilized rationally. For the most part it is used on watching television -- this would not be so bad if television programs were of high quality, but unfortunately deficiencies exist here as well -- and to a considerably lesser degree leisure time is devoted to self-education and cultural appreciation. It is not without alarm that we note today that Tbilisi blue-collar and white-collar workers devote an average of only 13 minutes of their free time to physical culture. And this figure applies to males. Women spend only 2 minutes. These are the results of studying public opinion.

Solving the problem of leisure time depends in large measure on skillful organization of the activities of cultural and educational establishments. Unfortunately, to date we have not achieved considerable improvement -- there remains a great deal of formalism and incompetence. Rural cultural and mass sports facilities are being established rather slowly. The activities of the people's universities should become more effective. More attention must be devoted to the development of amateur creative activities. The state mass library network development plan target fails to be met year after year. Funds allocated for repairing and equipping cultural-educational facilities are being utilized in an extremely unsatisfactory manner. The level of qualifications of cultural establishment workers is still quite low -- only 11.8 percent of club facility workers possess higher education, and few have received specialized training. These problems are especially critical in rural mountain rayons.

All this advances serious tasks for the Ministry of Culture, the Georgian Trade Union Council, unions of creative artists, sports organizations and, of course, party committees. Meriting attention is work being done to improve the administration of all cultural-educational and mass physical culture activities by the Rustavi city party committee and city executive committee.

Deserving of further development is the fine experience in neighborhood ideological indoctrination work amassed in Tbilisi and Chiatura. Microrayon public councils, in addition to handling matters pertaining to provision of services and amenities, improving trade, medical care, public and personal services, public eating facilities, and strengthening public order, engage in organizing intelligent use of people's leisure time, physical education, and ideological indoctrination work with the younger generation. Considerable opportunities are opening up in this regard in rural localities. We must strengthen the role of workforces, primary party organizations, and economic officials in establishing neighborhood cultural, physical culture and sports centers.

Integrally linked with consolidation of the Soviet way of life is work in the area of adoption of new socialist holidays, traditions, ceremonies, customs and the daily activities of working people. Everybody has become fond of the mass popular holidays: Tbilisoba, Mtskhetoba, and Shotaoba, the miner's holiday in Abkhazia, Tbeloba in Adzharia, the stockman's holiday in South Osetia, and a number of other mass-political measures which have become quite popular. Memorial day, establishment of new wedding ceremonies, christening ceremonies, as well as celebration of golden and silver wedding anniversaries have gained universal approval with the public.

At the same time we must also state that in this work one should not be carried away solely by the quantitative aspect of things, by pomp and circumstance. One must constantly bear in mind the indoctrinational purpose of these measures, study the ritual

legacy of all this republic's nationalities and ethnic groups, resolutely remove prejudices from age-old folk traditions, search out and preserve all the finest things in the spiritual legacy of peoples, which can promote mutual enrichment and drawing together of their cultures. A great deal in this regard can be accomplished by the Republic Commission on Adoption of Socialist Rites and Ceremonies, the Scientific Coordination Center for Problems of Sociocultural Traditions under the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, as well as the appropriate ministries, agencies, and public organizations.

VIII.

One of the main tasks of party ideological activity is the forming of an internationalist ideological outlook in Soviet citizens as well as further development and consolidation of interethnic relations on the basis of the flourishing and drawing together of nations. The nature of the social processes inherent in developed socialism -- growth of the social homogeneity of society, further deepening of the democratic foundation of government, formation of a new historical community of people -- the Soviet people -- has demanded deep comprehension of the problems of the correlation between the national and international at the stage of mature socialism.

These problems are important for our multiethnic republic, and we have learned through our own experience that even ignoring them to a minor extent or an incorrect approach to them seriously influence the effectiveness of all our ideological indoctrination measures. A serious, firm evaluation was made of these errors at the 9th (1978) Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, at which we addressed the most acute issues of interethnic relations.

We must be aware of the objective process that, as the socioeconomic and cultural-intellectual level rises, as nationalities and ethnic groups acquire increasing maturity, people become more interested in the historical past of their people, in their native language and culture, and a need arises to understand the place and role of one's nation in the overall history of mankind.

V. I. Lenin wrote that "our experience has created in us the unbending conviction that only immense attention toward the interests of different nations... creates that confidence, in particular, on the part of workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which both peaceful relations between peoples and any successful development of all that which is valuable in modern civilization are absolutely impossible."

This Lenin thesis is extremely important for a correct understanding of the essence and tasks of the party's ethnic policy and internationalist indoctrination in present-day conditions. Growth of ethnic self-awareness, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov noted in his report entitled "60th Anniversary of the USSR," "is a logical, objective process. It is important, however that natural pride in achieved successes not turn into national conceit or arrogance and does not engender a tendency toward isolation and a disrespectful attitude toward other nationalities and ethnic groups."

In these conditions it is essential constantly to seek forms and methods of internationalist indoctrination which would make it possible to take into consideration as an aggregate the socioeconomic, sociocultural, and specific natural, historically determined spiritual interests of each nationality and ethnic group, and which at the same time would promote their convergence on the basis of unity of economy, Marxist-Leninist ideology, and principles of socialist intercourse.

IT IS NOT SETTING THE NATIONAL OFF AGAINST THE COMMON SOVIET AND INTERNATIONAL, BUT RATHER THEIR CORRECT COMBINING WHICH IS THE DIALECTIC OF THE LENINIST APPROACH TO THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION.

The system of internationalist indoctrination established in this republic, the nucleus of which is the Coordination Council formed under the auspices of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, functions precisely in this vein. A five-year program has been formulated, which takes into account all those important measures which have been specified by decrees issued by union and republic directive agencies on development of the economy and culture of autonomous entities, the various ethnic regions, and mountain areas. We attach considerable importance to ensuring that the economy of autonomous entities develops today at a priority pace. For example, while industrial output volume for the republic as a whole has increased by 10 percent over 1980, the increase is 12.1 percent in the Abkhaz ASSR, 14.2 percent in the Adzhar ASSR, and 16.6 percent in the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast.

This economic policy is being bolstered in a planned and organic manner by measures of an ideological and sociocultural nature. These include measures to improve teaching of the Russian language and the national languages at this republic's secondary schools and higher educational institutions. It also includes the creation of conditions for the development of ethnic literatures, art, folk creativity, and deepening of meaningful, friendly contacts between scientific establishments and organizations of creative artists, and allocation of reserved enrollment in higher educational institutions for members of small ethnic minorities. This policy also includes the adoption of new Soviet traditions, mass holidays, ceremonies and rituals, which further develop and enrich the finest cultural traditions of all the nationalities and ethnic groups residing in this republic. These include measures to preserve and restore ethnic historic sites and the establishment of friendship centers, where materials are gathered together which attest to the indissoluble brotherhood of peoples of the USSR. In brief, everything which helps promote mutual respect and trust in interethnic relations.

The party Central Committee is doing everything to increase the responsibility of party committees, officials at ideological ministries, agencies, scientific establishments, educational institutions, organizations of creative artists, administrative agencies, and economic officials for the state of international indoctrination.

Each and every success in the economy and in resolving social problems is aggressively utilized for ideological indoctrination purposes, for creating the necessary moral-psychological mindset. An example of such an approach is the measures conducted in connection with the 60th anniversary of Soviet Georgia, the 60th Anniversary of establishment of the USSR, and the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk, when preparations for important sociopolitical events are not limited to festivals, declarations, and jubilee labor watches, but become a means of solving concrete problems of the nation's economy, sociocultural organizational development, adoption of advanced work know-how, and development of forms of socialist competition. THIS IS INTERNATIONALISM IN DEEDS, INTERNATIONALISM IN ACTION.

All this work was given approval and support in the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On Organizational and Political Work by Georgian SSR Party Organizations in Preparing for the 60th Anniversary of Establishment of the USSR."

But there are both shortcomings and unresolved problems in this work, comrades. Recently the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau received a report by the Republic Council for Coordination and Further Development of Interethnic Relations and Internationalist Indoctrination of Working People on progress in implementing the decisions of our 11th Plenum. A detailed, meaningful discussion was held. Not only achievements were discussed, but also unaccomplished measures, errors of omission, and the need continuously to bear ethnic aspects in mind in working with cadres and in indoctrination of local party and soviet officials, specialists, and production administrators.

Much has been accomplished in this regard in recent years in the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic, in the South Osetian Autonomous Republic, in this republic's various ethnic regions, and in work with the Armenian, Azerbaijani, Kurd, and Greek communities. We must continue in the future concerning ourselves more with the development of ethnic languages, ethnic cultures, and training of teacher personnel.

The slightest error in this undertaking has immediate effects. And then much greater effort is required in order to stabilize the ideological situation and neutralize unhealthy attitudes.

We should always bear in mind that practical realities are constantly presenting more and more new tasks in the domain of international relations, connected with the needs of development of the spiritual and intellectual culture of nationalities and ethnic groups -- history, language, literature, art, ethnic traditions, customs, etc.

We started at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum that we have formulated a comprehensive, truly scientific program of study of the Russian language in this republic, which is producing remarkable results.

Knowledge of the language of the great Russian people fosters an increase in scientific potential and broadening of the general cultural horizons of every nationality and ethnic group. The party has an interest in ensuring that people master the Russian language. The party is interested in equal measure in the development and improvement of native languages. There are no and can be no conflicts in the practical implementation of this thesis. Incidentally, it has been scientifically proven that a person with an equal mastery of two languages possesses considerably greater capabilities to stimulate the process of cognition, thinking, and forming of consciousness. We attach great importance to the decisions we have adopted pertaining to improving teaching of the Georgian, Abkhazian, Osetian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani languages. It was 2 years ago that study of Modern Greek was introduced in 46 schools in this republic for 1,500 students of Greek nationality. Similar measures were taken for the benefit of Kurdish youth.

The decree of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR on improving teaching of the Russian language at this republic's educational institutions, issued in July 1973, states that the steadily increasing importance of the Russian language by no means diminishes the role of the other national languages, comprehensive development of which is one of the main features of Soviet internationalism, internationalism of a unified Soviet culture. The slightest divergence from this principle is fraught with serious consequences.

Interethnic relations can be likened to a living organism. And, just like any living organism, they can have their difficulties, difficulties of growth and development, and they can have their problems. Mistakes can also occur. We must not ignore them, but must discuss them honestly and openly, as the party today demands. This is that touchstone on which the depth and steadfastness of the internationalist and, consequently, the ideological convictions of each and every party, soviet, and economic official, ideological worker, scientist, persons active in culture, and each and every Communist are tested.

Today one cannot help but note the bold, mature approach taken by the Tbilisi city party organization, the Abkhaz, Adzhar, and South Osetian oblast committees and other party committees to independent resolution of a number of complex problems at the ideological level. Precisely such an approach and such maturity create an atmosphere of sincerity and trust on the part of all ethnic groups and engender a truly productive atmosphere. Such trust by the people, such a relationship, comrades, must be highly valued and cherished.

We are presently at the threshold of an extremely important historic event -- the 20th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk. The entire preparatory period for this important date should become a new and important stage in a further upswing in ideological work and indoctrination of working people in a spirit of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism. THE HOLIDAY ITSELF AND PREPARATIONS FOR IT SHOULD CONSTITUTE A VIVID DEMONSTRATION OF TRIUMPH OF THE LENINIST NATIONALITIES POLICY, THE FLOURISHING AND CONVERGENCE OF NATIONALITIES AND ETHNIC GROUPS, AND THE GREAT HISTORIC MISSION OF THE GLORIOUS RUSSIAN PEOPLE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL, INTERNATIONALIST UNITING OF ALL SOVIET PEOPLES, IN THE SOCIAL PROGRESS OF OUR SOCIETY.

The strength of internationalism lies in the fact that it accumulates, as it were, all the finest elements in the ideological, moral, and spiritual countenance of the brother peoples, their productive energy and creative genius.

Convincing confirmation of this is the very atmosphere of political and labor enthusiam which today prevails in this republic -- and that special degree of interest and particular attention toward the problems of socioeconomic development of Georgian which is displayed by the union ministries and agencies; and that assistance which is given to the republic to repair the damage caused by the elements; and that spirit of innovative mutual assistance, unanimity, and mutual understanding which reigned at the joint jubilee session of the USSR and Georgian SSR Academies of Sciences held in Tbilisi; and, finally, that enthusiastic applause, that warmth from the heart, that sincere cordiality, that feeling of moving friendship and genuine brotherhood during the recent get-togethers between participants in Georgian literature and art days in Moscow, our nation's capital, in Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Vladimir, Stavropol, and other cities.

Expressed in all this was genuine embodiment, as Yu. V. Andropov stated, "of a thousand-year dream of equality, friendship, and brotherhood of peoples."

We shall not go into detail today on all these problems, inasmuch as the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, with the aid of our scientific centers and with the active participation of the most prestigious comrades, is preparing a substantial report -- a study of the 200-year history of our friendship and brotherhood with the great Russian people, which will be made public prior to the anniversary celebration.

We must state, however, that the enemy is not idly sleeping during these days of preparation for the jubilee. Our ideological adversaries abroad have dug up no dearth of material from archives yellowed with age! These include old, unrealized territorial claims, and they include the reactionary ideas of pan-Turkism. Voice of America and Radio Free Europe are playing for the umpteenth time scratchy, worn-out recordings of Mensheviks. On the threshold of celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk, bourgeois propaganda is launching an attack against us which is unprecedented in its scope and intensity, a kind of information-propaganda intervention, if you will. They are throwing everything into the fray, in hopes of kindling nationalist and religious feelings, of setting against one another the different peoples and generations of people living in Georgia, of distorting our historical past and present, of falsifying the genuinely fraternal Russian-Georgian relations, and of introducing into the consciousness of Soviet citizens the farfetched thesis of so-called "Russification."

How loathsome this all seems in juxtaposition with those preparations for the jubilee which are under way in Russian, in Georgia, and in the other republics!

Militant, aggressive, precisely planned counterpropaganda is essential in such a situation.

When we speak of counterpropaganda, we must constantly bear in mind that Reagan has declared a "crusade" against communism and it has become official Washington policy that in the White House they are allowing the possibility of so-called limited nuclear war and are endeavoring to legitimate for themselves the right to launch a first-strike nuclear attack against the nations of the socialist community.

We must not forget that statements of this type are not mere empty slogans. Behind them stands an immense propaganda machine, which on the one hand is indoctrinating the entire population of the United States, and not only that country, in a spirit of profound hatred toward Soviet citizens and toward all the peoples of the socialist community and, on the other hand, is constantly perpetrating acts of ideological sabotage, attempting to influence the minds and hearts of our people. U.S. imperialism is changing its tactics thereby, while inalterably adhering to one and the same strategic objective -- to undermine the foundations of communism.

But the plans of the U.S. Administration to set peoples against each other, to fan the flames of ethnic discord, and to foster the awakening of chauvinism and nationalism have failed entirely. The "crusade" undertaken by the U.S. President against socialism will fail just as disgracefully. We are deeply convinced of this. It could not be otherwise! It is the iron logic of history that our cause is just and that the future belongs to socialism! The outcome of this struggle is well known.

Wherever we allow even the slightest relaxation of our ideological effort, however, a few vacillating, erring individuals appear, persons with ideological flaws. They are few, but we cannot ignore even isolated individuals, nor can we be indifferent toward a few individuals, because they are our own, Soviet people.

The question of the responsibility of our higher educational institutions, our secondary schools, and all ideological institutions for the end results of their work, for forming and shaping the ideological foundations of the younger generation arises here, a question of great acuteness and frankness. And a person must be brought strictly to account for each and every error, for each and every mistake, for the slightest manifestation of irresponsibility.

It is against this background and at this level that we must wage our counterpropaganda, a most uncompromising campaign against our ideological adversaries.

I recall a recent trip to Portugal, to a friendship rally between the Portuguese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in Barreira, a worker district of fine, heroic Communist traditions. Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, stated: "All of us are witnesses every day to how the mass media present the most horrible lies, slander, and distortions of reality in respect to the USSR and the other socialist nations."

Comrade Alvaro Cunhal further stated that capitalists and reactionaries, those who in Portugal are preaching the so-called model of Western society, cannot forgive the Soviet Union for the fact that it has no unemployment but, on the contrary, a shortage of manpower, that young people can enroll in universities without any discrimination, can learn a profession, have access to culture, engage in athletics, and have a guaranteed job, which is in glaring contrast with the tragic situation of Portuguese youth, with hundreds of thousands of unemployed young people, where thousands upon thousands of young people have sunk to the depths of drug addiction, crime, prostitution, etc.

Comrades, we must arm ourselves with arguments of this kind, learn to wage a well-reasoned campaign against all our ideological adversaries and extensively engage in well-reasoned, concrete counterpropaganda.

As Comrade Yu. V. Andropov stated, there is going on today "a struggle for the minds and hearts of billions of people throughout the world. And the future of mankind depends to a considerable degree on the outcome of this ideological struggle. Hence it is understandable how exceptionally important it is to have the ability to communicate in intelligible and persuasive form the truth about the socialist society, about its advantages, and about its peace-seeking policy to the broad masses throughout the world."

IX.

Considerable attention at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum was devoted to questions of utilization of reserve potential. I should like particularly to emphasize today that IMPROVING OUR WORK STYLE, ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ATMOSPHERE OF INITIATIVE, INNOVATIVENESS AND CREATIVITY, AN ATMOSPHERE WHICH IS CAPABLE OF OPENING ALL THE STOPS FOR MAXIMUM OUTPUT OF GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL ENERGY, HAVE BEEN AND CONTINUE TO BE OUR MAIN RESERVE POTENTIAL.

We stated at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and I would like to repeat today, that the problem of dialogue between the party committee and the individual is a crucial one today. Our contemporary is more independent and has a good mastery of analytical method and critical thought process. According to Marx, the essence of the individual is an aggregate of societal relations. And the contemporary level of societal relations has placed on the agenda the task of forming a new work style by the party committee. And appropriate, entirely realistic ways are being found. New economic management agencies in the agroindustrial complex, alongside new relations, have also engendered new possibilities. A situation is forming where the economy in the village and in the city is being managed by professional organizers, while party committees are heading the campaign to boost the economy with reliance on these professionals. This is achieved on the basis of all-out development of socialist and internal party democracy, in a close, organic combination with establishment of the strictest discipline, increased responsibility and demandingness on cadres, and first and foremost on leader cadres.

One can state that the practice of extensive party consultations and regular turning to the community at large on specific important problems, collection and analysis of opinions and suggestions by Communists and working people has now become firmly established in our party affairs. We have talked about this before. Much is also being done to keep the public better informed on the activities of party and government agencies. ALL THIS NOW MUST BE DONE ON A MORE CLEAR-CUT, SYSTEMATIC BASIS, ESTABLISHING REGULAR ACCOUNTABILITY BY PARTY AND GOVERNMENT AGENCIES DIRECTLY TO WORKFORCES AND THE PUBLIC AT LARGE. The CPSU Central Committee Plenum stressed the necessity of preliminary discussion by workforces of all major decisions on matters pertaining to government and societal affairs. Democratic standards and determinations, however, should be reinforced with deeds. In this connection we must work resolutely to increase the significance of party meetings, firmness and frankness on the part of trade union organizations in defending the interests of the workers, initiative and innovative approach to the matter of Komsomol organizations, and persistence in correcting deficiencies by volunteer inspectors.

Primary party organizations play an important role in maximum utilization of the extensive rights and opportunities given to workforces. The All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference held in Tbilisi, which evoked widespread response, showed how much there still remains for us to do in order to increase the militance of the grassroots party components. The conference proceedings were discussed in all primary organizations, and we attach great importance to this at the threshold of the report-election campaign. It is perhaps advisable to dedicate the Second Republic Meeting

of Primary Organization Secretaries, which we intend to hold following the reports and elections, to problems pertaining to enhancing the role of the leader of the primary party organization and dialogue between party committee and the public.

The practice of concentrating the efforts of party, soviet, and economic agencies and the functioning of working groups, commissions, and councils under the auspices of party committees is in line with the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum pertaining to the importance of ensuring practical, correct distribution of the functions of party and state and on the fact that party agencies should not duplicate government agencies. These forms have fully proven themselves as an effective method of coordinating the work of all agencies in solving key problems and eliminating duplication of effort.

THE PRINCIPLE OF CONCENTRATING EFFORTS, ESTABLISHMENT OF WORKING GROUPS AND COMMISSIONS IN PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, THE FORMING OF TERRITORIAL GROUPS UNDER THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ORGANIZATIONAL-PARTY WORK DEPARTMENT, PREPARATION OF SYSTEM ANALYSES OF THE ACTIVITIES OF PARTY COMMITTEES IN THE AREA OF ENSURING UNITY OF ORGANIZATIONAL, IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION, AND ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT WORK -- all this should be subordinated to solving the main, principal tasks advanced by the party at the present stage of building communism. We need these forms of organizational work in order to note all good, valuable, and positive elements which are engendered in practical party work, to see shortcomings as well, and to take concrete measures aimed at improving the state of affairs.

There is no ideological or organizational-party work as a general entity. Behind this work stands a specific individual, and we need a concrete approach, to be entirely concrete, abandoning a style which can be called work "in general and on the whole."

Such a concrete approach is necessary first and foremost in indoctrinating COMMUNISTS PROPER, since reorganization of indoctrination work must begin within the party itself. Particularly close attention is demanded by work with young Communists and improvement in the qualitative composition of party organizations. All is not well with us in this area. Concern is evoked by the fact that in the last two years as many as 300 CPSU probationary members have failed to be accepted to full membership, have been expelled or have left party ranks. Expelled persons even include individuals guilty of abuse of office.

Violations also occur in acceptance to party membership. We know of cases where young people who have just completed secondary school and who lack the requisite work experience are accepted into the CPSU. Unfortunately this is not always dictated by practical considerations, a fact which cannot stand up to any criticism whatsoever. We have encountered such occurrences in Akhaltsikhskiy, Znaurskiy, and certain other rayons.

Party committees should step up indoctrination work with young Communists, increase their ideological conditioning, and work more aggressively to enroll them in schools which have been established for them under the auspices of city and rayon party committees.

Time dictates the necessity of more extensively adopting advances in the social sciences into practical party work. We expect from our scientists concrete recommendations on how better to organize the work of the party administrative edifice and how to improve guidance of socioeconomic processes and sociopolitical affairs. This is also an expression of democratization, development of the democratic principles of our party, when scientist-Communists and party-unaffialited take the most active part in improving the forms and methods of party work. ALL THIS WILL HELP US BOOST PARTY-POLITICAL WORK TO THE LEVEL OF THE DEMANDS OF THE JUNE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM.

In concluding this address, I should like to state WHAT THE PARTY, IDEOLOGICAL WORKER SHOULD BE IN PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS, A PERSON WHO PROFESSIONALLY ORGANIZES AND DIRECTS THE HIGHLY COMPLEX, SOPHISTICATED PROCESS OF INDOCTRINATING PEOPLE, discussion of whom rang forcefully from the podium of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum and in its decisions.

The plenum forcefully raised the question of renewal of demands on the person of the propagandist, agitator, lecturer, and worker in the mass media.

A great deal was critically examined by the Plenum in this area. Departure from the acute problems of practical affairs, formalism, empty ostentation, and ideological idle talk with highly modest economic indicators -- these are some of the traits which form the countenance of certain ideological workers.

Realism, truthfulness, efficiency, skillful demonstration of our achievements, intelligent analysis of issues of burning interest to people, freshness of thinking, and clarity of presentation -- these are some very general formulations of the qualities of the ideological worker of today and tomorrow.

One must bear in mind thereby the following basic consideration. The memory of the party propagandist and agitator of the revolutionary period and the era of the first five-year plans is extremely dear to us Communists. It is thanks to him that the idea of communism, capturing the masses, became a mighty, all-conquering and powerful building force. We pay homage to you, the spiritual mentors of our fathers. Your example guides us even today.

But bear in mind, comrades: different times involve different tasks and different means. Do not forget that the ideological battles and campaigns of past times were fought openly, with the people coming together en masse, when victory was secured by intelligently influencing the collectivist, mass consciousness. Large numbers of people were being mobilized, and propagandists were operating in terms of masses and classes.

"And the song of the singer arouses the class!" wrote poet of the revolution V. Mayakovskiy, for whom the streets and squares of the big cities were not poetic metaphores but an ordinary workplace. It was an era when order, appeal, slogan possessed the most effective force, when military terminology permeated the speech of people's commissars and shock workers of production, newspaper language and the reports of those in charge of construction projects. It was an era of extensive development of our economy, when the cardinal tasks of a great construction project were accomplished by means of boldness of soul and the muscular energy of millions of construction workers.

We are experiencing today a phase of intensive development of the economy. Production is increasingly assuming a combined character and is imposing increasing demands on the administrative official.

Such a transition from extensive to intensive conduct of the economy is causing fundamental adjustments in the dialectics of the foundation and superstructure. The correlation between objective and subjective factors is changing. The intellectual potential of man -- the member of our society -- is becoming increasingly a decisive force.

The role of the subjective component is increasing immeasurably in these conditions, and the value of the individual and one's motivations is becoming increasingly greater. Acquiring paramount importance in these conditions is the ability to conduct a dialogue with the individual, respecting a person's individuality and personal consciousness. In these conditions it is important for every ideological worker to have the ability

to be not only an advocate, proclaiming widely known truths to a large audience, but also to be a confessor, talking to a person face to face, convincing, assuring and, if necessary, comforting him.

THE ABILITY TO CONVINCE IS EXTREMELY VALUABLE TODAY. TO CONVINCE, APPEALING TO A PERSON'S CONSCIOUSNESS, INTELLECT, AND HEART, RESPONDING TO A PERSON'S SOCIAL NEEDS, ASPIRATIONS, AND HOPES. But for this one must also possess new specialized knowledge, such as psychology -- social and engineering -- education science, the ability to forecast a social situation and, what is very important, the ability to predict and to gain one's bearings in the complex inner world of an individual, while not losing one's main ideological reference points, for the sake of which such complex labor is being undertaken.

THIS IS WHAT OUR PARTY, OUR IDEOLOGICAL WORKER SHOULD BE TODAY!

* * *

Comrades! This year is a special one in the ideological affairs of the party. This is the year of Karl Marx, founder of scientific communism and Communist ideology. This is the year of the 80th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, which marked the birth of the proletarian party of the Leninist type, a party which for the first time in the history of mankind laid down a path from theory to practical revolutionary transformation of the world.

Now it has become the year of the June Plenum of the Central Committee of our Leninist party, WHICH HAS ADVANCED IDEOLOGICAL WORK TO THE FOREFRONT, WHICH HAS STRESSED THAT IDEOLOGICAL WORK IS THE BUSINESS OF OUR ENTIRE PARTY!

V. I. Lenin spoke of our party as a party of innovators. Genuine innovativeness in organizing all our ideological, mass-political work is essential today as never before.

The Georgian party organization, placing primary emphasis in all its activities on the problem of man, is ready and willing to perform this responsible task. It is prepared, first and foremost, because experience has taught us to reveal and honestly to acknowledge shortcomings, mistakes, difficulties, has taught us to analyze them, taking counsel with the masses, and has taught us the ability, as V. I. Lenin stated, "to boost the energy, heroism, and enthusiasm of the masses, concentrating revolutionary-charged efforts on the next, most important task on the agenda."

A qualitatively new stage in work in the domain of ideology is commencing for the Communists and all working people of Soviet Georgia -- A TIME OF PROFOUND ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS OF PAST ACCOMPLISHMENTS, A TIME OF NEW INNOVATIVE SEARCH, ANALYSIS AND IMPLEMENTATION OF FUTURE TASKS OF SOCIOECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THIS REPUBLIC, INCREASING ITS CONTRIBUTION TOWARD STRENGTHENING OUR COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC POTENTIAL AND DEFENSE CAPABILITY, ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE INTELLECTUAL TREASURE HOUSE OF THE SOCIALIST CIVILIZATION.

The decisions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum have become for us a most important theoretical and practical guide toward achieving this goal. Today, as comrade Yu. V. Andropov stated at the Plenum, it is important not only to specify clear, well-conceived reference points for the future, but also to communicate them to the consciousness of millions of Communists and party-unaffiliated, so that they become actively involved in our forthcoming efforts.

Permit me to ensure the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo that the Georgian party organization, its body of ideological activists, and every Communist will dedicate the entire strength of their minds and hearts to implementation of the decisions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

OUR GOAL IS CLEAR -- TO APPROACH MAN, TO RAISE HIM UP TO NEW HEIGHTS OF CONSCIOUS PRODUCTIVITY FOR THE SAKE OF ADVANCE BY SOVIET SOCIETY, FOR THE SAKE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE IDEALS OF COMMUNISM.

AND WE SHALL PROCEED ALONG THIS PATH!

Shevardnadze Gives Closing Speech at Georgian CC Plenum

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[Concluding speech by Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at the 14th Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on 9 July 1983: "Each and Every Communist Is an Ideological Warrior of the Party"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] Comrades! Our Plenum has demonstrated once again, on the one hand, how important right now are the tasks of party ideological, mass-political work advanced by the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and its decisions, the program points and conclusions contained in the speech at the Plenum by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Yu. V. Andropov and in the speech by Politburo member CPSU Central Committee Secretary Comrade K. U. Chernenko. On the other hand, our Plenum and the statements made by comrades in the course of the discussion have shown how much more remains to be done in order to boost all this work in republic party organizations to the level of today's demands and today's tasks. The Plenum also showed us the need of close, organic, dialectical coordination of all ideological work with economic management and organizational-party work, for THE WORD -- THE SUBSTANTIAL, THOUGHTFUL, WISE PARTY WORD -- SHOULD ILLUMINATE THE WAY FOR PRACTICAL ACTIONS, AND WORD SHOULD BE REINFORCED NAMELY WITH DEEDS. WE SHALL BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS ONLY WHEN WORDS ARE NOT AT VARIANCE WITH DEEDS, BUT MERGE INTO COMMON HIGHLY CONSCIENTIOUS, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY.

Our plenum has confirmed the importance of an innovative approach to ideological work, the need to seek new, original solutions to ideological indoctrination problems, in conformity with the present level of man's social and intellectual development, for our ideology is not only a SYSTEM OF KNOWLEDGE BUT ALSO A SYSTEM OF IDEAS, A SYSTEM OF SPIRITUAL VALUES.

Presently much attention is being devoted to continuity in sociopolitical and economic activities. Of course continuity is also necessary in ideological work. But not all continuity is identical. We are dialecticians, and we define succession and continuity dialectically. Just as in all other areas, IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK GENUINE CONTINUITY SHOULD BE EXPRESSED IN PRESERVING AND ADDING TO ALL VALUABLE THINGS WHICH WE HAVE HAD IN OUR PAST WORK, AND IN OVERCOMING ALL THAT WHICH NO LONGER IS ON CONFORMITY WITH TODAY'S TASKS. Every development is a struggle between the old and new. That which was good yesterday cannot be so good for today, and particularly for tomorrow. Our own experience, our daily practical activities have shown us how harmful are sluggishness and dogmatism of views as well as fear of the new in the ideological-political and social domains, as well as in the economy. In many instances it has perhaps been easier to recover from natural disasters than to overcome the ideological stagnancy of certain of our comrades.

Our Plenum is completing its work.

Our party organization, however, is continuing its work -- work to implement the decisions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum and this 14th Plenum of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. There are no evident time boundaries in this work: it will continue for quite some time, for the decisions adopted in Moscow in June 1983 call for an earnest, large-scale reorganization of all our activities pertaining to ideological indoctrination of working people.

Our most important and most immediate task is to COMMUNICATE THE RESULTS OF THE JUNE (1983) CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM AND THE POINTS AND CONCLUSIONS PROCEEDING FROM THE SPEECH AT THE PLENUM BY COMRADE YU. V. ANDROPOV TO EACH AND EVERY PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATION, TO EACH AND EVERY WORKFORCE, TO THE MASSES AT LARGE, AND TO EACH AND EVERY INDIVIDUAL.

The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum armed us with a clearly-defined, scientifically substantiated program of ideological, mass-political work, and our job now consists in swinging into aggressive organizational and propagandist work to explain the decisions adopted at the plenum and the results of the 8th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. How should our work be organized at the present time? What recommendations do we have on this score?

Some of the most important of all the measures we have are plenums of oblast, city and rayon party committees, and party meetings within each primary party organization. It is necessary to engage in extensive explanatory work in each and every workforce, so that Communists and the party-unaffiliated clearly and fully understand the tasks facing us. Implementation of the program specified by the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum depends in large measure on how persuasively and clearly we accomplish this.

Not one full member or candidate member of the Central Committee should fail to work on carrying out this task; it is essential actively to involve in this work all members of the Georgian Communist Party Audit Commission and all ministry, agency, and organization officials. We need today as never before earnest, thoughtful preparation for speaking at plenums, at party meetings, and highly organized conduct of unified political education days in workforces. We need everywhere a concrete, meaningful discussion of key problems. A trusting, productive atmosphere should be created during all these activities, promoting a frank exchange of opinions, open and forthright discussion of urgent issues and problems which concern Communists and all working people.

We attach great importance to all these measures. Therefore it is necessary to prepare for them in a painstaking and earnest manner. And preparations should begin a month to a month and a half in advance, so that comrades can study thoroughly and in detail the proceedings of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and our Plenum, can visit workforces in advance, can become acquainted with what is going on in the party organizations, the state of affairs in the economy, social development, and the handling of party-political and party-organizational work, and only after all this should one present to an audience an interesting, substantial, genuinely innovative report. Then the ensuing discussion will also be detailed, businesslike, concrete, and productive. And herein lies the significance of all measures being conducted.

Classes within the Marxist-Leninist education system should be devoted to a serious and profound study of the proceedings of the June Plenum. Seminar-conference should be held for this purpose with various categories of propagandist cadres and officials of ideological agencies, organizations and establishments.

The tasks advanced by the June Plenum must be made concrete as applied to the various sectors of the nation's economy, science, education, and culture. It would be advisable to convene branch meetings of party-economic activists, expanded sessions of ministry and agency boards, and meetings of the body of activists at scientific establishments, unions of creative artists, and the Tsodna Society. It is recommended in particular that the first secretaries of city and rayon party committees speak at the traditional August teacher's conferences, presenting reports entitled "Current Problems of Ideological Work and the Tasks of the General-Curriculum School." Members of the Central Committee and of the Central Committee Bureau must also take part in this work. And this once again confirms that our party devotes great attention to matters of public education.

As was stated at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, a major reform of the system of public education will be implemented in this country. I believe it would be appropriate for us to summarize the proposals presented at our plenum in the speeches by Georgian SSR Minister of Education Comrade O. D. Kinkladze, Comrade S. T. Rigvava, chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, as well as other comrades, to formulate solid, scientifically substantiated and well-reasoned proposals, and submit them to higher agencies for consideration. We attach enormous importance to the work of the general-curriculum school, and the problems of its reorganization are of genuine concern to all of us. This is a very delicate, very sensitive domain, and hastily-reached decisions are quite unacceptable here.

This republic's trade union and Komsomol agencies, which play an important role in implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, will be doing extensive, important work.

We expect of our mass media thoughtful, skillfull, purposeful dissemination of the proceedings and decisions of the June Plenum. Our newspapers, television and radio, as well as wire services have already proceeded doing interesting, clearly understandable, and impressive work in this area. We must continue the job, more closely coordinating all published materials with relevant problems and tasks of economic and cultural development, with analysis and synthesis of advanced know-how in the area of ideological and political indoctrination work in workforces, at educational institutions, and on party committees.

Many speakers discussed some of the shortcomings of our journalists and mass media officials. The main deficiency, which was mentioned time and again, is a certain detachment from practical affairs, which we do not seem to be able to overcome. Evidently newspaper editors and editors of sociopolitical, literary-artistic and professional trade journals should spend more time visiting the localities, where the fate of any undertaking is decided, and they should show deeper interest in those processes which are taking place rather intensively right now in workforces, in primary party organizations, and among young people. These processes are ambiguous. They contain many complexities, difficulties, and conflicts, and should not be ignored. They require profound analysis. But when one reads published materials the impression is created that many comrades are simply not informed on what is taking place in the outside world, while others have no desire to examine the processes which are taking place around them. We cannot accept this situation. The press should more actively influence the state of affairs in this republic.

Journalists are our fighting army; the press is a most important instrument of the party, with the assistance of which it communicates with the masses. Today we place greater demands on our journalists than we have in the past, and this is dictated by the decisions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Our assistance to the people of the press should also increase at the same time. We should not forget this point. And we are prepared to give them every possible support.

Today, when one studies more deeply and attentively and repeatedly analyzes the proceedings of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it becomes particularly clear and obvious what wisdom our party's Central Committee displayed when it presented problems of ideological and mass-political work for discussion at its plenary meeting. These issues, these problems have always occupied the center of our attention, but today we need A QUALITATIVELY NEW APPROACH TO THEM, AND WE NEED A NEW AND HIGHER LEVEL OF ALL IDEOLOGICAL WORK BY ALL OUR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS.

Today one can state quite definitely and confidently that this republic's party organization is fully prepared to carry out all the tasks advanced by the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Everything now depends on our efficiency and organization, on a conrete and practical approach to every sector of our work. Much depends on organizational work. This point was discussed, and discussed well, by Georgian SSR Minister

of Health Comrade G. G. Lezhava, Comrade R. A. Goglidze, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers Committee on Physical Culture and Sports, plus others. Bear in mind, comrades, that a great deal depends on you yourselves, on how you organize things. The fact that you are able to analyze and draw conclusions is not sufficient in order to acknowledge that you have done a good job. Organizational work, practical, concrete work is needed. This applies not only to you but to all officials, to all leader personnel.

Today, following the June Central Committee Plenum, it is especially important that each and every Communist be deeply aware of his responsibility not only for himself but for his comrades as well, for things in his party organization. I want very much, comrades, for each and every participant in our plenum to gain a clear understanding of all this.

I also want very much, in proceeding to work on the practical implementation of the decisions of the June Plenum, that we do not lose sight of this stated objective. We have no doubt whatsoever that the stated tasks will be accomplished. The very proceedings of our plenum and statements by comrades on the issue under discussion serve as a basis for such confidence, for such a firm conviction.

I dare say that all the suggestions, all the valuable recommendations and advice which our comrades have shared with us these last days will be put to work, as they say, forming the foundation of all subsequent activities by the republic party organization in the area of ideological-political indoctrination of working people. THEY ALL HAVE ONCE AGAIN REVEALED THAT POWERFUL IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL AND SPIRITUAL-INTELLEGTUAL POTENTIAL WITH WHICH OUR PARTY ORGANIZATION IS STRONG, AND WHICH MUST BE BROUGHT INTO ACTION AS QUICKLY AND AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE.

We attach particular importance to the fact that many comrades have examined economics and ideology in close coordination and interpenetration. Important issues which merit attention, connected with reorganization of local party and economic agencies on the background of functioning of the agroindustrial complex -- and this is a qualitatively new phenomenon in our lives -- were raised in the statements made by Comrade V. P. Abramishvili, first secretary of the Goriyskiy Rayon party committee, and Comrade G. A. Tsitlidze, chairman of the board of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in the village of Natanebi, Makharadzevskiy Rayon.

The example of Abasha where, as was stated at the June Plenum, the rayon party committee began a most important economic innovation at the very source -- with man -- has already become a textbook example. Comrade B. D. Gulua, first secretary of the Poti city party committee, addressed us here. You can see how he has grown in stature. He is a totally new type of official, who has developed into an outstanding, innovatively thinking worker, who is able to analyze, synthesize, and reach practical conclusions. He cited persuasive examples showing that the Poti experiment would not have produced such encouraging results without ideological support, without mobilizing people's inner, spiritual-moral energy.

We fully concur with the view expressed by Comrade G. D. Mgeladze, chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Agricultural Production, by Comrade I. T. Todua, first secretary of the Zugdidskiy Rayon committee of the Georgian Communist Party, and Comrade G. B. Charakashvili, first secretary of the Tsiteltskaroyskiy Rayon party committee, on a number of fundamental questions pertaining to ideological support for the further development of our agriculture and resolution of agricultural problems in our republic.

We can fully understand and sympathize with their concern, which incidentally sounded in many voices here, alarm caused by the natural disasters which have befallen our republic. Indeed, enormous damage has been done to our economy. Forty-five thousand hectares of vineyards, 16,000 hectares of orchards, 35,000 hectares of planted grains

and legumes, 12,000 hectares of vegetables, melons and potatoes, 25,000 hectares of fodder crops, and 47,000 hectares of other crops and pastureland were totally destroyed or heavily damaged by hailstorms of extraordinary force and intensity, accompanied by heavy downpours. More than 2000 head of cattle, sheep and goats perished.

Heavy rains in many localities washed out roads, damaged and in a number of instances destroyed bridges. Industrial and construction enterprises, etc. were flooded and forced to shut down in some cities of republic jurisdiction and communities in low-lying areas. Private farming operations sustained heavy damage; water and mudflows invaded many homes. The roofs of a number of homes were smashed by hail, etc.

According to preliminary figures, the damage inflicted on agricultural production this year by natural disasters totals 180,000 tons of grapes, 50,000 tons of fruit, 30,000 tons of vegetables, squash and melons, 15,000 tons of potatoes, 40,000 tons of grain, etc.

Party, soviet, and economic agencies, Communists and all the working people of this republic met the natural disasters with determined, selfless labor. I can report that by decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, a decision which incidentally was made on the day after Moscow learned of the disastrous weather in our republic, the USSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to give us the needed assistance to recover from the damage caused.

But this should not dampen our ardor. We need even greater composure and mobilization. These points have also been made before us here. Our people are ready and willing to work and accomplish deeds in order to preserve all that which has been created by man's hands.

Comrade K. I. Kadzhaya, first secretary of the Chkhorotskuskiy Rayon party committee, informed the Central Committee that in view of the difficulties which have been created in this republic in connection with the adverse weather conditions, Communists and all working people in his rayon are prepared to give the state this year 8 million rubles worth of above-target industrial output. Similar statements are coming in from Zugdidskiy and Makharadzevskiy rayons, from Abkhazia, Adzharia, and from other areas of Western and Eastern Georgia. This is a fine initiative, meriting encouragement and support.

A number of speakers addressed the complex problem of the forming of new economic thinking, which is characterized by the rejection of gross-output indicators and emphasis on building flexible capabilities in conformity with the steadily more complex conditions of today's production. An important question was raised here by Comrade E. A. Beridze, first secretary of the Dmanisskiy Rayon party committee, and by Comrade Z. D. Chivadze, general manager of the Tbilisi Elektrovozostroitel' Production Association. This question pertains to ideological support for adoption of brigade cost accountability. Indeed, we must think through seriously and thoroughly the social and indoctrinational consequences of our economic management innovations, and in particular extensive utilization of the collective contract method, strictly bearing in mind the fact that labor productivity, especially in agriculture, which increases in these conditions, is reflected in employment figures, we must consider how correctly to combine measures of material and moral incentive, how to manage the psychological climate in the collective, etc. All these are tasks to be addressed right now both by industry and science.

Comrade Z. A. Kvachadze, secretary of the Georgian Trade Union Council, raised a number of issues connected with scientific organization of labor, improving organization of socialist competition, and enhancing its effectiveness and indoctrinational role.

Evidently the republic commission to direct socialist competition should carefully study these suggestions and draw up appropriate recommendations. It is very correct that we should seek to achieve on the basis of scientific organization of labor not only ECONOMIC EFFECTIVENESS BUT ALSO EFFICIENTLY TO CARRY OUT THE INDOCTRINATION FUNCTIONS OF THE WORKFORCE. Of course the indoctrination functions of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations as well as workforces can be performed only on the basis of scientific organization of labor. This is correct. The very process of indoctrination requires scientific organization. Zinaida Arsen'yevna also brought up quite concrete issues. For example, about the fact that several million rubles allocated to material incentive for socialist competition winners are not being disbursed. We must put an end to such an antistate practice -- how can it be called otherwise -- and proper order must be imposed in this matter.

Comrade B. I. Vashakidze, a test driver at the Kutaisi Automotive Plant imeni Ordzhonikidze, correctly stated that we cannot separate production tasks from social tasks. Indeed, if we want to achieve high production indices, we must also display equal concern for the working man.

A profound understanding of the tasks facing science and this republic's scientific establishments in connection with the decisions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum was clearly and convincingly evident in the statements of comrade Ye. K. Kharadze, president of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences. We must agree with Yevgeniy Kirillovich that, in working to influence man's ideological outlook and instilling in him an innovative attitude toward labor, we are fostering a qualitative improvement in productive resources.

Suggestions made by Comrade I. G. Gverdtsiteli, chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Science and Technology, are worthy of the most vigorous support. To summarize his statements, he suggested quite specific ways to accomplish THE PRACTICAL ACTIONS WHICH MUST BE TAKEN TO ENSURE THAT SCIENCE GENUINELY BECOMES A DIRECT PRODUCTIVE FORCE. These points merit the most thorough examination and study, and we shall definitely return to them.

Interesting ideas about the interaction of ideology and culture were contained in statements made by Comrade N. Z. Chavchavadze, director of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy. Sharing his alarm about a certain threat to intellectual culture which is presented by the consequences of the scientific and technological revolution, we just, as he, believe that a tendency of internal unity of humanist scientific thought, moral enthusiasm, and artistic creation will emerge victorious in the development of culture. I am very impressed by the thought he expressed about the need to conduct a "dialogue with nature," and I would like to see quite realistic, practical steps taken in this direction. We are ready and willing to participate in such a dialogue.

Many statements dealt with means of ideological-aesthetic influence on the consciousness and intellect, the emotions and spiritual countenance of Soviet citizens. I should like to note here the remarks by Comrade M. V. Dumbadze, chairman of the board of the Georgian Union of Writers, and other comrades, who spoke about instilling state patriotism. A beautiful expression, a most apt definition! This is very fine; it is very gratifying when a writer, who is so well known throughout the country, and not only in this country, raises such a relevant, such a crucial issue.

Very important issues were addressed in the remarks by comrades B. V. Adleyba and V. R. Papunidze, first secretaries of the Abkhaz and Adzhar oblast party committees. Boris Viktorovich put it well when he stated that it is essential intelligently to utilize historical facts, historical phenomena, and historical processes, and that the lessons of history per se instill in people a feeling of internationalism. But these lessons must be correctly explained!

We must also agree with Vakhtang Rafaelovich, who stated how important it is to strengthen the material-technical foundation in order more successfully to conduct counterpropaganda. This was also discussed by N. A. Popkhadze, chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. It is true that it is essential to combine countermeasures against bourgeois propaganda, demonstration of Soviet realities and the genuinely fraternal interrelationships of our peoples in materials for foreign countries with thoughtful, innovative preparation of individuals representing the Soviet Union on vacation, professional and business trips abroad.

Issues pertaining to internationalist indoctrination and further strengthening the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR occupied an important place in the remarks made before this forum. Very interesting statements about instilling internationalism in the consciousness of youth were made by Comrade V. G. Lordkipanidze, first secretary of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee. Comrade G. S. Shugarov, first secretary of the Akhalkalakskiy Rayon party committee, and Comrade O. A. Khristianov, first secretary of the Tsalkskiy Rayon party committee, correctly noted that the personal example of leaders and Communists is very important in internationalist indoctrination, as well as how they affirm the principles of internationalism by their day-by-day treatment of others, their behavior, and their practical activities.

Comrade Z. A. Imanova, chairman of the executive committee of the Marneulskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, and Comrade A. F. Kozayev, first secretary of the Tskhinvali city party committee, spoke persuasively and, I would say, emotionally about internationalism in action and about what results are produced by harmonious joint efforts by people of different nationalities and concern for the development of each region and the republic as a whole, taking into account the labor and cultural traditions and ethnic features of its population. The theme of the responsibility of townspeople to their town rang out strongly in remarks made by Comrade V. Ya. Pisareva, stitcher at the Tbilisi Garment Factory imeni Ordzhonikidze. Important problems pertaining to physical education of youth and sports training for college students were made by Comrade D. I. Chkhikvishvili, Georgian SSR Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education.

At this point I should like to state that we sensed in the remarks made by Comrade G. D. Dzhavakhishvili, rector at the Tbilisi State Pedagogic Institute of Foreign Languages, a good understanding of the problems of indoctrinating the younger generation, in particular study of the Russian language and labor indoctrination of youth.

The practical, concrete remarks made by Comrade A. I. Shirinkin, chief of the political directorate of the Red-Banner Transcaucasus Military District, reconfirmed how important it is to conduct all our daily ideological indoctrination work in close contact and interlinkage with the military and border districts. That which Aleksey Ivanovich stated is fully in conformity with our course of policy and with our demand that the joint work done by this republic's party organizations and the political agencies of the districts be done in an efficient and businesslike manner and that we increasingly avoid general, at times pretty phrases and proceed to a greater extent with substantive practical work. He spoke in a businesslike manner, as is appropriate for a member of the Central Committee, brought up quite concrete, fundamental issues, and we entirely share his point of view. We, just as he, care very much about what feelings and attitudes demobilized military personnel take with them from Georgia, and what kind of an impression of our people and our republic they take home. We must continue in the future proceeding constantly from the position that the army and the people are a single, unified organism.

The theme of preparations for celebrating the bicentennial of signing of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk was also extensively addressed here. Quite correct stresses were placed in this connection in the speech by Comrade D. G. Sturua, director of the Georgian Party Central Committee Institute of History of the Party.

Matters of intraparty work have occupied an important place at our plenum, and this is quite natural. We greeted with strong approval the criticism leveled at the administrative edifice and departments of the Central Committee in the remarks of Comrade G. D. Gabuniya, first secretary of the Tbilisi city party committee, and we are of the opinion that these remarks are more than modest. We know full well that we have considerably more shortcomings than he has stated here. I am pleased that Guram Dmitriyevich has overcome that barrier which unfortunately to date has seemed insuperable to many, and has frankly discussed our shortcomings.

Please don't get me wrong, comrades. Everything I am saying is entirely sincere, not for the sake of rhetoric and not out of a desire to place myself before you in a particular light, under the halo of a democrat among democrats, so to speak. By no means.

I shall be utterly frank: during all these years I have carefully observed and patiently waited for that moment -- and I wanted very much for it to come as soon as possible -- when constructive, forthright, frank criticism of deficiencies in the work of the Central Committee would become the norm, a customary phenomenon at our plenums. But unfortunately we have not yet reached this point. Does this mean that we have not had and do not have any shortcomings? Of course not. What kind of a situation would this be: everybody has shortcomings, but the Central Committee does not? This is far from the case. There are deficiencies, and fairly serious deficiencies, in the performance of the Central Committee administrative edifice.

We are profoundly grateful to the members of the Central Committee for their support in our work. We need such support like the very air we breathe. BUT WE DO NOT INTERPRET THIS SUPPORT AS ABSOLUTE APPROVAL OF EVERYTHING WE DO. IN OUR OPINION IT IS EQUALLY SUPPORTIVE TO HELP US CORRECT DEFICIENCIES. THEN THINGS WILL GO EVEN BETTER! But for this it is necessary to work more determinedly to reveal deficiencies, to point them out more boldly, without fear, and to indicate ways to correct them. This is also support -- party-minded, Communist, friendly support.

It is necessary to carry over into the work of our plenums to an increasing extent that spirit which was established at meetings of the Central Committee Bureau, which we call meetings "without agenda," when bureau members and the Central Committee secretaries always have something to say to one another -- straightforward, face to face, quite openly. Let us also have speakers at plenums present practical, constructive suggestions and address critical comments to members of the Central Committee, the Secretariat, and Central Committee Bureau. This is essential because in our daily activities we sometimes encounter cases where officials leave office, and only after this is criticism leveled at them. After all, the people who gather at our plenums are of like mind, party comrades, well-wishers. And if we create, establish, cultivate, propagate an atmosphere of comradeship, friendliness, good will, and innovativeness, a genuinely working atmosphere, it seems entirely logical that in such an atmosphere one would discuss how skillfully and how consistently the Central Committee is carrying out its assigned tasks, what it is accomplishing and what it is not accomplishing.

The foundation is good will. The foundation is constructive suggestions, a constructive spirit, which should prevail at Central Committee plenums. This is the most important thing. Nothing is to be feared in such an atmosphere; all problems, all issues can be received in such an atmosphere. Precisely such an atmosphere will make it possible to conduct a relentless campaign against demagogues of every ilk, slanderers of every kind, those who love to spread harmful rumors. The speakers also discussed this.

In addition, the name of the first secretary of the Central Committee is frequently mentioned at our plenums. When I call upon you comrades to note shortcomings in the activities of the Central Committee, I of course also mean the performance of the

first secretary as well. I, just as everybody else, have my shortcomings, and I would like for the members of the Central Committee to speak about them. In addition, these deficiencies are not engendered by the fact that I do not wish to do a better job. It is simply that I do not always manage -- sometimes there is not enough time, sometimes there is a lack of experience, etc. I thank you for your kind words! But I also must learn about my errors of omission. If you become accustomed to the idea that one can criticize the Central Committee as well, then you will begin with the first secretary. Then the other Central Committee secretaries will not feel so insulted. Is that not so?

Problems of leadership competence, the level of leader performance proficiency were persuasively presented in the speech by Comrade M. A. Aslanikashvili, first secretary of the Zestafonskiy Rayon party committee. Indeed, we often state that we lack time, that we are overloaded with work, and that we work nights. But when you begin to examine the situation closely, you see that flaws lie in the organization and planning of labor and one's work time. There is only one conclusion -- we do not know how to utilize and efficiently distribute time. We recall remarks by Yevgeniy Kirillovich Karadze, especially during get-togethers with younr people. He has made quite well-reasoned statements about the importance of the time factor and on the need to have the ability to utilize each and every hour correctly and efficiently. Coming from him this sounds especially convincing, since he himself is a model of excellent work habits, organization, and a thrifty attitude toward each and every minute. It is a fine thing that party officials are addressing these issues in all earnestness at Central Committee plenums.

Comrade G. I. Gunava, first secretary of the Lentekhskiy Rayon party committee, spoke persuasively about the role of subjective factors. He corroborated with concrete examples that accomplishment of highly complex economic and sociocultural tasks in conditions of a mountainous area is possible only with proper party guidance. Many comrades are of the opinion that the subjective factor is an abstract, theoretical concept. Nothing of the sort. It is a perfectly concrete reality, for example, in the conditions of Lentekhskiy Rayon. Take a look at how much they have achieved here and what major changes have taken place. Because of what? Because of heavy capital spending or emergency measures? Yes, the rayon is being given assistance, just as all others are, but more substantial results have been achieved here. How can one help but speak of subjective factors after this?

The problem of work with cadres, and not only with ideological cadres, is a matter of concern to many. There is nothing surprising in this: cadre policy is being implemented on a daily basis, in each and every concrete work sector. In particular, Minister of Trade Comrade M. M. Kadzhaya discussed frequent turnover among trade personnel and the fact that there is no stability whatsoever in the service industry. We entirely agree with him that greater attention and care must be shown in selecting cadres. The most important thing is that we should not make mistakes in the process of selecting and placing cadres. But once a person has been appointed, we must constantly work with and educate him. There are no ready-made leaders or ready-made commanders, especially in the service industry. It is important that professional knowledge be combined with honesty and decency. And this applies not only to the domain of trade and services.

An unusually large number of speakers addressed our plenum. Unfortunately it is not possible to discuss each speech in detail. I consider it my duty to emphasize, however, that all of them enrich our collective party experience. I give thanks to each and every one of you for preparing so well for this plenum.

NOW WE MUST CARRY THIS ATTITUDE OVER INTO OUR DAILY PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES.

Proceeding now to carry out the decisions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, we must first and foremost develop in Communists an innovative approach to their work and determinedly overcome a still existing and, I must say, very persistent formalistic-bureaucratic attitude toward things.

I should like to return to the matter of party assignments, which was discussed in the keynote address. This would seem to be a commonplace, run-of-the-mill item. But when you begin to look closer, you see that this is a most fundamental question. A party assignment is, after all, an assignment by the party, a Communist's main sphere of activity, and precisely such an attitude toward it must be instilled in each and every CPSU member. How can we eradicate formalism in allocating an assignment? It is best when Communists receive an assignment at a party meeting. General trust obliges a party member to have a maximum sense of responsibility toward an assignment. And let him give an accounting at a party meeting on how he is performing an assigned task, on how he is living up to the trust of his comrades. We must also have clear-cut criteria for assessing the effectiveness of performance of assignments, characterizing the qualitative aspect of a job. This is a very important item of our party work. We shall be quite frank: we have party committees and primary party organizations which prefer to deal primarily in quantitative indices -- number of meetings, lectures, political instruction classes held, number of wall newspapers put out, etc, without considering how this effects people's consciousness and behavior, their practical activities.

Things should be arranged so that our party committees, secretaries of city and rayon party committees, and secretaries of primary party organizations approach the conduct of all measures, including those of ideological-political significance, not in a formalistic manner, and are concerned not only about how they will give an accounting to higher bodies on the fact that a certain measure has been carried out and, as they say, "to check it off," but that they SEE BEHIND EVERY MEASURE PEOPLE, THE LIVING PEOPLE FOR THE SAKE OF WHOM AND FOR WHOM THIS MEASURE IS BEING CONDUCTED. Otherwise all our activities and all our work are worthless. It would be better not to carry out such measures.

Therefore it turns out that if we judge the doings of a party organization on the basis of the minutes of meetings and the number of classes held at schools and seminars, things look pretty good, while in actual fact a great deal looks differently. Suddenly and unexpectedly glaring violations are revealed in that same organization, which sometimes assume a mass character, and this attests to inadequate party influence and depreciation of the vanguard role of Communists.

Prosecutor of the Georgian SSR Comrade A. M. Barabadze spoke quite correctly and frankly about the need to create an atmosphere which fosters intensification of the campaign against theft, bribery, and other abuses.

To achieve concreteness in party work means arranging things so that a Communist does not ignore any incorrect actions, any fact which is in conflict with standards of party ethics and party conduct. Unfortunately, however, one encounters instances where a Communist does not act openly in opposition against alien views and assessments of various phenomena, preferring to remain silent, to hide in the bushes, as they say. But where are a Communist's high principles, and where is his active experimental, party-minded posture? WE SHALL BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE A GREAT UPSURGE IN IDEOLOGICAL, MASS-POLITICAL WORK BY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS ONLY WHEN EACH AND EVERY COMMUNIST BECOMES AN AGGRESSIVE PARTY POLITICAL WARRIOR, A PERSON OF DEEP IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENT.

Naturally it is easier to deal with that which lies on the surface than to look into a person's soul, to study his thoughts, views, and attitudes. And yet the substance of indoctrination work consists precisely in this. A differentiated approach to individuals is extremely important here. It would seem that nothing could be better or simpler than to summon to the party committee for a friendly interview a comrade

who has taken a misstep, to warn him against future improper deeds and incorrect actions, to talk to him heart to heart, as they say, face to face. Unfortunately, this is not being done. People think about it only when a person has taken the path of crime. In order to keep things from going this far, we must always advance to the forefront the problem of studying and shaping a person's spiritual world. We must place particular emphasis on discussing this, because instances of violation of laws, standards of morality and our way of life, cases of theft, deception, distortion of figures upward, mismanagement and bribery are as a rule discovered by inspections and audits by higher agencies. Unfortunately all these violations take place in workforces, in full view of primary party organizations, in full view of Communists who see all this. They see it and remain silent. This should not be. A Communist should always display excellent fighting qualities, always giving the proper political assessment to any action by a party comrade, for every dishonest and unconscientious act does detriment to our party cause and undermines the prestige and authority of party organizations.

I WAS JUST TALKING ABOUT PARTY ASSIGNMENTS. THE LARGEST PARTY ASSIGNMENT FOR A COMMUNIST IS TO CARRY OUT WELL AND CONSCIENTIOUSLY HIS DIRECT PARTY DUTY.

The breadth, the broad spectrum of remarks at our plenum and the great many opinions presented have reflected the complexity of the problems we have been examining. It is difficult, and probably even impossible to reduce them to a common denominator. It is quite obvious, however, that there is a perpetual area of cognition which is perpetually new to the investigator, in which the bundles of nerve endings of all the most sensitive and acute issues on how we are to proceed and work in the future come together as at a focal point. THIS AREA IS THE FIELD OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR.

At the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum we spoke about DIALOGUE BETWEEN PARTY COMMITTEE AND THE INDIVIDUAL. We stated that in all our undertakings we are learning TO PROCEED FROM THE INDIVIDUAL, AND WE ARE RETURNING TO THE INDIVIDUAL. And today, just as yesterday, incidentally, at our plenum THE THEME OF DIALOGUE WITH THE INDIVIDUAL RANG OUT RATHER LOUDLY AND CONVINCINGLY. IT WAS STATED WHY TODAY, TOMORROW, THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW, IN THE NEAR AND DISTANT FUTURE THE ART OF SUCH DIALOGUE WILL BE INCREASINGLY MORE HIGHLY REGARDED, AND WHY THE PARTY, IDEOLOGICAL WORKER SHOULD MASTER THIS ART IN FULL MEASURE. Comrade E. N. Shengelaya, first secretary of the board of the Union of Georgian Cinematographers, spoke about this in a very interesting, competent, and deeply professional manner.

Dialogue with the individual presupposes a higher degree of preparedness than ever before, general and specialized knowledge on the part of our ideological workers as, moreover, all our party workers. Those comrades who, demanding that ideological work be conducted on a rigorously scientific basis, remind us that the scientific foundation of ideological indoctrination work is constantly expanding, are entirely correct. Today the individual is aware, or should be aware, of his intrinsic value to a greater extent than ever before, and this is why the individual's demands on society are much more substantial than they were in the past.

Ideology is a system of knowledge and ideas directed primarily to the individual and intended to influence the individual. This complex and sophisticated process -- a fusion of knowledge into awareness, elaboration of corresponding principles, attitude, and political opinion -- requires both profound specialized training and corresponding scientific recommendations.

We can be greatly assisted here by the staff at the Georgian Academy of Sciences Institute of Psychology imeni Uznadze, which represents the world-famous school of Georgian psychologists with its fundamental theory of attitude, which holds much promise for ideological workers and party workers in general. Comrade A. S. Prangishvili, vice president of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute of Psychology, spoke very persuasively and with a personal commitment about the fact that we have people who are professionally involved in ideological indoctrination

work but who have rather vague notions about the psychological mechanisms of forming a person's consciousness, the needs and motivations impelling a person to action. It is quite obvious that without knowledge of the "mechanics" of forming the motivational sphere in the structure of the individual, it is impossible effectively to influence the forming of an individual's consciousness. We expect a great deal of science and scientists -- and not only of psychologists. But a great deal also depends on us: how we are able to utilize everything which science gives us.

The problem of forecasting rang out clearly at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Practical realities have placed on the agenda the task of learning to forecast in the field of economics, societal affairs, and social phenomena. I do not remember that the problem of forecasting and forecasting science has ever been raised so frankly and firmly in the past. This is a demand of today, of our stage of development. Perhaps it makes sense to hold a scientific-practical conference dealing with the problems of forecasting science. This is a very important issue.

Forming and shaping the new man is a most important component part of building communism in our country. Study of the process of emergence of a new man in conditions of socialism is a central problem of the social sciences.

Unfortunately, at the present time there is no substantial scientific research in progress on the socialist type of individual. And yet the concept of socialist directional thrust of character and personality and scientific study of the mechanisms of formation, on the basis of a new historical community -- the Soviet people -- of a unified socialist type of individual and socialist character traits is one of those basic areas of scientific knowledge on which is grounded the effectiveness of ideological activity.

DIALOGUE WITH THE INDIVIDUAL, KNOWLEDGE AND STUDY OF THE MOTIVATIONS BEHIND AN INDIVIDUAL'S BEHAVIOR, AND DEEPER INVESTIGATION WITHIN THE DOMAIN OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR ARE ESSENTIAL TO US AS A MANDATORY, EFFECTIVE MEANS OF IMPLEMENTING THE DECISIONS OF THE JUNE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM.

One of the most important features of Marxism-Leninism, which was very aptly characterized in a highly-principled article by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov entitled "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Problems of Building Socialism in the USSR" -- RECEPTIVENESS TO ALL THE FINEST AND PROGRESSIVE THINGS IN CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE AND CULTURE -- of course should also be the principle of all our ideological indoctination work. AND THIS RECEPTIVENESS IS ESSENTIAL NOT ONLY FOR PERCEIVING AND ASSIMILATING KNOWLEDGE AND VALUES, BUT ALSO FOR DIALOGUE, FOR COMMUNICATION WITH OTHERS. FOR ONLY OPEN AND FRANK, SINCERE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD, TRUTHFUL AND HONEST TALK CAN TRULY CONVINCE, ENRICH AND EDUCATION A PERSON!

Our ideology and our philosophy, created by Marx and Engels and raised to a higher degree by the founder of our party and our state, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, "find themselves today," as was stated in Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's article, "at the center of the world's intellectual affairs and have captured the minds of millions upon millions of people. This is the ideological credo of an ascending class, which is liberating all mankind. This is a philosophy of social optimism, a philosophy of the present and future."

Innovatively developing and applying this teaching, soberly and realistically assessing the problems and tasks which face us, in all things being worthy of our ideology, our party, and our great homeland -- we see in this the highest goal and highest calling for workers on the ideological front, for all party workers. And if we raise our ideological activity to such a height, we shall significantly accelerate the transition by all mankind to communism, for the sake of which the founders of Marxism-Leninism and the heroes of the revolutions, the civil war and the Great Patriotic War performed heroic feats, and for the sake of which we are working and struggling today.

PATOLICHEV: FOREIGN TRADE 'CONSTANTLY ENPANDING'

PM310908 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 34, Aug 83 (Signed to Press 15 Aug 83) Special Supplement p 1

[Article by Nikolay S. Patolichev, USSR minister of foreign trade: "On the Basis of Equality and Mutual Advantage"]

[Text] Soviet foreign trade is constantly expanding, reflecting the continuing growth of the Soviet state's economic potential, the consolidation of international ties, and the USSR's equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation with foreign countries.

In the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan alone the USSR foreign trade turnover increased by more than 27 percent and reached R119.6 billion in 1982 -- a 440 percent increase on the 1970 level. At present we trade with 143 countries of the world. Besides the quantitative increase, Soviet foreign trade has been marked by major qualitative changes. It is now based primarily on long-term and large-scale intergovernmental programs and agreements. New forms of economic cooperation are being actively developed. The USSR is increasingly taking part in the international division of labor.

Commodity turnover with CEMA member countries, which hold the lead in the USSR's foreign economic relations, is increasing at the highest rate. The volume of trade with these countries increased from R12.3 billion in 1970 to R58.7 billion in 1982 and amounted to 49.1 percent of the Soviet Union's total commodity turnover. In 1982 our commodity turnover with the GDR -- our biggest foreign trade partner -- totaled R12.2 billion; with Czechoslovakia R8.9 billion; with Hungary, R7.5 billion; with Cuba, R5.8 billion; with Romania, R3.1 billion; with Mongolia, to R1.2 billion; and with Vietnam R1 billion. It should be noted especially that socialist economic integration processes are actively and fruitfully developing among the CEMA member countries.

The Soviet Union is consistently steering a course toward mutually advantageous cooperation with countries which have liberated themselves from colonial or semicolonial dependence. The USSR's commodity turnover with developing countries had risen by almost 470 percent between 1970 and 1982. Among them the Soviet Union's biggest partners last year were India (R2.5 billion), Libya, Argentina, Iraq, Afghanistan, Brazil and Syria.

Our country is interested in developing economic cooperation based on equality and mutual advantage with industrially developed capitalist countries. In 1982 the commodity turnover with these countries amounted to R37.7 billion -- a 700 percent increase on the 1970 level. The volume of these relations could have been even greater were it not for various kinds of sanctions and boycotts applied against mutually advantageous East-West cooperation by the ruling circles of the United States and some of its allies.

We have established sizeable trade and economic relations with a whole series of developed Western countries. Thus in 1982 the USSR's commodity turnover with the FRG totaled R6.6 billion: with Italy, R4.1 billion; with Japan, R3.7 billion; and with France -- R3.6 billion. The volumes of trade relations with the United States, the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain, Canada, and Austria last year were put at more than R1 billion.

In this context I would like to single out the successful development of mutually advantageous good-neighborly trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Finland. For a number of years now this country has ranked second in the USSR's trade with industrially developed capitalist countries (R5.2 billion in 1982).

Characteristic of Soviet-Finnish trade and economic relations is their scale and long-term nature. They are not limited to trade; cooperation in the construction of industrial and other projects and production sharing have been developed considerably.

Over the past decade cooperation in trade between the Soviet Union and Denmark has reached quite a high level both in quantitative and qualitative terms. Soviet-Danish commodity turnover increased from R43.8 million in 1970 to R363.6 million in 1982 or by 730 percent.

A boost to the further improvement of Soviet-Danish foreign economic ties was provided by the long-term program for the development of economic and industrial cooperation between the USSR and Denmark which was adopted in 1978. It stimulated the elaboration and implementation of a number of effective joint cooperation projects.

But of course, the two sides have by no means utilized all opportunities for the further development of mutual cooperation. This could be considerably promoted by the detailed information supplied by Danish firms in this supplement, and by the information which Soviet foreign trade organizations will publish in the supplement to the Danish business circles' newspaper BORSEN in the coming fall in connection with the USSR's national exhibition in Denmark.

In a few days' time, the 13th session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Danish commission on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation is opening in Copenhagen. I would like to avail myself of the opportunity presented by EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA and BORSEN to wish our Danish partners success and further activation of work on the development of trade and economic cooperation between our countries.

LOWER RETAIL PRICES TO BEGIN 1 SEPTEMBER

LD311539 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Aug 83

[Text] In accordance with the directions of the government, retail prices of a number of industrial goods will go down as of tomorrow. These are articles produced by light industry, items of cultural and consumer use, and household goods to the totalvalue of R3 billion.

Comrade Sarukhanov, deputy USSR minister of trade, told our correspondent that as of 1 September, in state and cooperative trade networks, customers will have a wide range of choice of materials for coats, suits, and skirts at lower prices. These are pure wool, semiwool and silk materials.

Coats, suits, and skirts of various fashions and models for adults and teenagers are sold at lower prices. On average, their prices have been lowered by 30-40 percent. Among goods of cultural, consumer, and household use, prices have been lowered for individual makes of television sets -- black and white ones -- by 40 percent; handmade carpet by 30-40 percent; some types of palas carpets by 60 percent; mopeds by 40 percent; beads made of semiprecious stones by 40 percent; and musical goods. For instance, 1 square meter of hand-made carpet used to cost R430, but the new price is R301. Moped Riga-16 used to cost R215; the new price is R129. The (?Birus A-2) refrigerator used to cost R215; the new price is R151.

These goods will be on sale in the very same department stores, specialized shops and other trade enterprises where they can usually be found, as well as in special shops, departments, sections, markets, and bazaars.

Moreover, trade enterprises extend additonal services, such as cutting the material, adjusting and fittingwork on clothes, and other services that ensure comfort for customers, during sales of lower-priced goods.

GOSSNAB OFFICIAL VIEWS CONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS

PM020817 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 83 First Edition p 2

[Article by N. Arkhipets, deputy chairman of the USSR Gossnab under the rubric "Economic Thinking: Initiative and Enterprise": "The Policy Is for a Finished Project"]

[Excerpts] A policy aimed at sharply improving construction affairs is being pursued persistently and consistently in our national economy, and specific measures are being taken in connection with overcoming the laggardness of this sector and liquidating the chief shortcoming inherent in capital construction -- the dissipation of capital investments and delays in commissioning projects.

The question naturally arises: Why, then, are these problems being resolved only slowly despite vigorous administrative and organizational measures? What is preventing our construction conveyor from being raised to the level of the modern requirements for the development of the country's national economy? I think the answer must be sought in the current procedure for organizing construction and installation work, under which capital investments are dissipated, and in obsolete construction planning methods.

It was pointed out at the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums that the chief shortcoming in our economy consists in the fact that management lags behind the existing scientific and technical potential and the level of development of production forces. This undoubtedly applies most of all to capital construction. It is right here that this discrepancy is manifested most noticeably.

The country has already accumulated considerable experience in improving the economic machinery, and its introduction would make it possible to reduce appreciably the gap between management and the development of production forces. An experiment was conducted on Belorussian construction sites for a number of years to create an economic machinery which directed everyone involved in capital construction TOWARD THE END RESULTS -- TOWARD THE COMMISSIONING OF PROJECTS AND COMPLEXES [capitalized passage published in boldface]. Our central press has written repeatedly about the chief merits of this experience.

An experiment conducted in a number of the country's large contract organizations has shown good results. In Belorussia and Lithuania, for example, above-normative uncompleted construction has been liquidated through working in the new way. Almost all the projects were commissioned at the prescribed times. There was a reduction in the amount of materials and structures left over. The annual rate of growth in commodity output stood at 10-12 percent.

The main points of that experiment were taken into account in the well-known CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on improving the economic machinery.

However, attempts have been made recently to abondon the introduction of certain elements of this machinery. Reference is made here to the fact that during 1982, when the "commodity construction output" indicator began to be introduced, the plan for commissioning projects was not fulfilled. The point is that the new indicator was applied in organizations which were not prepared for it but merely transferred it mechanically to their own activity. Here the entire package of measures was not implemented -- only individual points from that resolution.

For example, for incomprehensible reasons the USSR Gosplan Interdepartmental Commission sanctioned the removal of one of the most important conditions of the Belorussian experience, whereby the size of the wages fund obtained is determined according to fulfillment of the plan for commodity construction output.

Supporters of the old work methods say: Abandonment of construction and installation work volumes results in less attention being devoted to creating the necessary groundwork, and therefore projects are commissioned with long delays. Obviously, these people do not have a very exact idea of what commodity construction output is. And it is essential to have an exact idea. Commodity output is the volume of construction and installation work. Only it is not fulfilled generally on some indeterminate projects, but on specific projects provided for in the plan. It is precisely the "commodity construction output" indicator that demands the creation of a long-term construction flow, for without groundwork or observance of construction times there can be no actual handover of projects to clients and no commodity output.

The opinion also exists that the commodity construction output indicator is very good in principle. But under conditions when territorial differentiation is ignored in planning and capital investments are allocated disregarding the duration of construction, do not expect this indicator to have any effect. What can be said in this connection? We must improve capital investment planning so that it accords with the technology of the construction conveyor and accelerates the rate of turnover of the capital invested. It is precisely our centralized socialist planning that is capable of resolving this task. Capital investments must be allocated according to the actual existing capacities of construction organizations -- not wholesale to the ministry, but specifically and in detail to each kray, republic, and oblast. For we do not plan, say, the production of as many motor vehicles as we need: We plan for as many as we can produce at a given moment. Why, then, must there be a different approach to the creation of construction output? If there is a need to develop and build up the capacities of contract organizations, then they have to be created, like capacities for the production of tractors, motor vehicles, or other industrial output.

In our opinion, it would be advisable for the USSR Gosplan to define for client ministries the times for commissioning projects of special importance and to define the overall limits of capital investments, and for construction workers -- finished commodity output -- the cost of construction and installation work and of constructed projects and complexes [sentence as published]. But it is a matter for the contractors themselves to decide what technological groundwork is needed, what "backlog" of uncompleted construction is needed, when to begin, how to concentrate, and when to organize production.

There is a belief that questions relating to price fixing have not been resolved, that estimated prices are not being regulated, and all this, people say, makes it impossible to implement the principle of self-financing work by construction organizations. The answer to this, too, is very simple: Let's improve estimated prices, price fixing, and other economic and financial normatives. The "commodity construction output" indicator invariably makes this demand. Furthermore the price of a project, a building, that is to say the estimate, must be firm and clearly defined before work starts -- which unfortunately is not happening now. Today the estimated cost of projects is essentially uncontrolled. For this reason it goes up on many projects in the course of construction without sufficient cause.

The purpose of improving the economic machinery in capital construction is to discard obsolete gross output indicators, to bring indicators in line with current demands and with the level of development attained by our production forces.

We must elaborate and practice a new type of economic thinking as regards all these questions. This is a demand of the times, and it was clearly stated at the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum.

Why then are the Belorussian experiment principles not being introduced everywhere? I believe that this is above all because they demand the personal responsibility of all the participants in capital construction. And some people are afraid of this responsibility. They are afraid to display initiative, to show enterprise. But precisely these qualities constitute the main condition for the introduction of the new economic machinery to which the CPSU Central Committee has drawn special attention.

At present, as the analysis of industrial project construction critical path analysis charts reveals, the requirement for materials at individual stages of the construction process is met only 60 percent. Teams are idle while waiting for the resources. The application of the "commodity construction output" indicator calls for supplies to construction workers to be organized according to the requirements defined in the plans and estimates. This will make it possible not only to correctly organize capital construction work but also to utilize resources more rationally and to organize the effective monitoring of their consumption. So far, owing to the dissipation of manpower and material resources, the construction conveyor has been operating at only two-thirds capacity. There is direct evidence of tremendous potential for reducing the time taken to construct projects. The efficient utilization of technological potential, as shown by analysis, will make it possible within the next 5-8 years to halve the time taken to construct projects. And the shortening of construction time even by 1 month, in terms of the country as a whole, will reduce the "backlog" of uncompleted projects by R4-4.5 billion. In my opinion, the improvement of the sector's organizational structure will help to increase labor productivity within the next 5 years by 6-7 percent. This is where the hidden reserves are! To commission them is our primary task.

The introduction of the new economic machinery demands efficient specialization and mechanization of labor, the setting up of mobile construction associations, and bigger contracting organizations. The builders must have a 5-year plan at last. You cannot produce output under annual plans if the production takes more than 1 year.

What must be done right now to influence the work results of the current 5-year plan? The USSR Gosplan and the USSR Gosstroy, together with ministries, departments and local, party and soviet organs must analyze in terms of each republic, kray, and oblast to what extent the construction organizations' capacities are balanced against the volume of capital construction work in the regions. And on the basis of this a capital construction plan must be compiled for the remaining 2 years of this 5-year plan. As from 1984 all main construction contract ministries must change over to principles of real financial autonomy, and conditions must be prepared for their transfer to self-financing operation.

According to our calculations and our firm belief, all these measures will make it possible even in the 11th 5-Year Plan to reduce by up to 30 percent in comparison with 1980 the time required for the construction of projects, to liquidate above-norm uncompleted construction, to free tens of billions of rubles of capital investments, and to increase the commissioning of fixed capital.

HARVEST PROGRESS REVIEWED AS SUMMER ENDS

PM011503 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Sep 83 p 1

["Agricultural Review" by N. Osychkin: "Grain From the Eastern Regions"]

[Text] September, the first calendar month of fall, is upon us. In many places, it has announced its presence by way of cooler weather with rain and winds. And there is no end to work in the country's fields. Crop gathering has to be completed, the output of grain and other products has to be increased, and the plans and procurement targets for all crops have to be fulfilled.

According to an announcement by the USSR Central Statistical Administration, by 29 August the grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) were cut on area of 86.3 million hectares in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises. This is over 70 percent of the sown crops. Threshing has been completed on 77.9 million hectares, which is 90 percent of the cut crops. During the past week grain had been threshed on an area of 9.6 million hectares. The farms are delivering grain to elevators and reception points.

Crop gathering is drawing to an end in the North Caucasus, Central Chernozem, and Volga economic regions. The focus of intense harvesting work has sifted to the country's east, where the main areas sown with the highly valuable spring wheat are concentrated.

In the RSFSR the cutting of wheat has been completed on 51 million hectares, which is 75 percent of the total areas sown. Over 90 percent of the crop has been threshed. The Orenburg Oblast machine operators are completing the crop gathering on their fourth million hectares. The virgin land farms in Adamovskiy and Sevtlinskiy Rayons are overcoming adverse weather and striving to prevent losses and increase deliveries to the state granaries. Combine harvester operator V. Kazakov is champion in the competition, having already threshed over 2,300 metric tons of grain on the Dimitrov Sovkhoz. Increasing numbers of machine operators are following his leading example, struggling to thresh 1,000 or more metric tons of grain per machine unit.

Competition is widespread among the combine harvester operators in Altay for the prize named for Hero of Socialist Labor Semen Yefimovich Pyatnitsa, the famous machine operator. It has already yielded its initial results. Grain in the kray has already been cut on over 2 million hectares, and over 50 percent has been threshed. The collectives of the harvesting and transportation complexes on the Putk Kommunizmu Kolkhoz in Petropavlovsk are threshing on average 18 quintals of grain per hectare. Smolenskiy Rayon's Strana Sovetov Kolkhoz is flagbearer of the competition, being the first in Altay to fulfill the grain procurement plan and continuing to deliver additional grain shipments. The elevator and reception centers are receiving daily over 80,000 metric tons of wheat, rye, and barley.

Over 950 harvesting and transportation complexes are engaged in gathering the crops in Omsk Oblast's fields. Crops have been cut on over 1.5 million hectares. The farms are striving to carry out the fall field works comprehensively, procure larger quantities of coarse and succulent feeds, and increase grain sales to the state. Tyumen Oblast's kolkhozes and sovkhozes have produced a satisfactory harvest. Two-thirds of crops have been cut there. Right after the windrows have been picked up, the grain is shipped to the elevators.

The fall in Siberia and the Urals is capricious. The onset of cool weather can occur suddenly and unexpectedly. This is why it is so important to cut harvesting time to a minimum there and protect the grain against losses.

This, unfortunately, is being overlooked by a number of farms in Sverdlovsk and Tomsk Oblasts, where harvesting work has yet to pick up the necessary pace. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Kurgan and Novosibirsk Oblasts have allowed a considerable time to elapse between cuttting and threshing. While the agricultural workers in the Bashkir ASSR and Orenburg Oblast are successfully accomplishing their main task, only the first few tens of thousands of metric tons of grain have been delivered to the plan's account in Chelyabinsk Oblast. The effective way to speed up the harvesting and grain procurement is to make efficient use of equipment and introduce advanced labor methods.

Grain has not come easy in Kazakhstan this year. This is why it is especially important to gather the harvest there within extremely tight deadlines and without any losses. Grain and pulse crops in the republic have already been cut on 15.6 million and threshed on 12.4 million hectares. The combine harvesters are in action almost 24 hours a day. Applying the experience of the Ukraine and the North Caucasus, many sovkhozes have transferred their combine harvester crews to the two-shift work method. This has increased output and speeded up the harvesting work.

The mass threshing of spring wheat, taking up about 12 million hectares in the republic, has started everywhere. Thanks to efficient cooperation between farm and elevator specialists, sampling [otbor] of large consignments of strong wheat grain and their delivery to the state granaries are in progress on schedule. About 2,000 rigs from the republic's goskomselkhoztekhnika have been enlisted for the grain transportation.

The flow of Kazakh grain to the elevators is growing apace day by day. In many places the threshing floors and elevators have switched over to 24-hour working. Uralsk Oblast's farms are significantly overfulfilling their procurement plans. The Aktyubinsk Oblast kolkhozes and sovkhozes have resolved to sell 50 percent more grain than planned. But a shortage of trucks is holding back the shipment of grain from the threshing floors in Martukskiy, Oktyabraskiy, and Aktyubinskiy Rayons.

Harvesting is also drawing to an end in Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. It is important that all opportunities be utilized everywhere for the fastest completion of crop gathering, for increasing the sale of all types of agricultural produce to the state, and for replenishing the country's food resources. Harvesting of hulled crops is in progress in the Ukraine and the Volga and Central Chernozem regions. Hundreds of combine harvesters have gone out into the rice paddies in the Kuban and in Astrakhan and Kzyl-Orda Oblasts. Selective harvesting of sunflowers has started in Moldavia and the North Caucasus. Millet has been threshed on 965,000 hectares, or 34 percent of the total crop, while buckwheat has been harvested from 576,000 hectares, or one-third of the total area sown. At the same time, grain procurement from these crops is picking up pace extremely slowly.

Fiber flax has been pulled on 780,000 hectares or 69 percent of the sown area. Cotton picking is beginning in Central Asia. Selective sugar beet harvesting has started in the Ukraine and Moldavia and in Kursk and Voronezh Oblasts, and 63 refineries have produced the first sugar from the new root crop harvest. Potatoes have been lifted from 310,000 hectares, vegetables procurement has reached 6.5 million metric tons, and fruit and berries -- 1.5 million metric tons. The fruit and vegetable conveyer belt must function at full capacity in the fall.

The agricultural workers are laying the foundations of the next harvest. Winter crops have been sown on 13.2 million hectares, which is almost one-third of the planned area. Good, strong shoots have come up in the nonchernozem fields. Fall plowing has been carried out on 16.8 million hectares. The speed of this work must pick up. The fall will not wait.

CSA REPORTS ON VEGETABLE HARVEST, PROCUREMENT

LD012052 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 1 Sep 83

[From the "Land and People" program]

[Text] The USSR Central Statistical Administration today summed up information on the progress of the harvest and vegetable procurement. These crops have been harvested on almost half the total area. Commenting on this report, (Mikhail Ivanovich Zolotov), deputy head of the central administration for production of vegetables and cucurbits at the USSR Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry, stressed that this year all work was being carried out earlier than in 1982, and with high labor productivity. On the whole, vegetables -- tomatoes, cabbages, sweet pepers and various greens -- of better than average quality are reaching the industrial centers of north of the country.

However, the fact that large batches of tomatoes from Volgograd oblast are scrapped by the Moscow and Leningrad fruit-and-vegetable centers gives one pause [nastorazhivayet].

This year an example of excellent work is being shown by the Astrakhan vegetable growers. As Comrade (Zolotov) stressed, this year the farms of Astrakhan Oblast aim to produce a record vegetable harvest: over a million metric tons.

PRAVDA REVIEWS AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

PM011205 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 83 First Edition p 1

[S. Vladimirov "Agricultural Review": "To Sugar Refineries"]

[Excerpt] Fall has arrived in the fields. Reaping and feed procurement are continuing. Cotton picking has begun. Concern for the future harvest is also taking up a lot of the farmers' effort and time. There are many urgent, priority tasks. People are coping with them on time where work is carried out comprehensively.

As the USSR Central Statistical Administration reports, by 29 August grain and pulse crops had been cut on 86.3 million hectares -- almost 3/4 of the harvest area. Grain crops have been threshed on 77.9 million hectares. This year the majority of farms are seeking not only to fulfill the targets but also to cover their debt as regards grain sales in previous years. The grainfields in the east of the country demand special attention. Fuller use must be made of all resources and all material and technical potential in order to gather the harvest there quickly and without loss.

Beet growers have begun harvesting. CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted the resolution "On Additional Measures to Ensure the Timely Harvesting, Procurement, and Processing of Sugar Beets of the 1983 Harvest." Good preconditions have now been created to fulfill the state plans. Much will depend on how far the previous errors and mistakes, when the harvesting and transporting of the sweet roots to the refineries and their processing were delayed, can be avoided.

"The "field-refinery" conveyor belt has begun working efficiently in Moldavia. Some 800 harvesting complexes are working to timetables which do not allow an interval of more than 24 hours between lifting and dispatching beets.

The flow-transshipment method, which speeds up the delivery of roots to enterprises, is being assimilated everywhere.

Sugar refineries have begun working in the Ukraine, the Central Chernozem region, and the Volga region. A good harvest has been grown in the majority of places. The weight of the root is greater than last year. The kolkhoz named for the 20th Congress in Vinnitsa Oblast's Tomashpolskiy Rayon, for example, is harvesting more than 400 quintals of beets per hectare.

On the whole, kolkhozes and sovkhozes have prepared well for the harvest campaign. Farms have sufficient machines to cut off the plant tops and lift the roots. There are not enough loaders, it is true, but innovators are coming to the rescue. Thus, in Tataria people have adapted old root-harvesting units, converting them for loading. In a number of places, however, equipment readiness is low. Approximately half the combines have still not been repaired in Kazakhstan, and this work is being held up in Belorussia and Kirghizia.

AGRONOMIST NOTES LAG IN FERTILIZER SUPPLIES

LD311532 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 31 Aug 83

[From the Vremya newscast; video talk by merited RSFSR agronomist Yuriy Platonovich Koryryalov]

[Summary] Harvesting work has speeded up over the past week in many parts of the Nonchernozem Zone and Western and Eastern Siberia. Kazakh farmers are harvesting 700,000 hectares per day and are cutting grain on the 16th million hectares. Many farms in the virgin lands are selling grain to the state in an organized way. Strong and valuable varieties of wheat are arriving at the reception points. Grain sales are going well in Azerbaijan, Chuvash, Mordva and Belgorod, Uralsk, Gorkiy, Lvov, Moscow and several other oblasts.

Harvesting of groats has begun in the major cultivation areas. Twenty-six percent of buckwheat has been harvested in the RSFSR. Output of this crop has not been bad in Bashkiria, Kuybyshev, Chelyabinsk and Ryazan Oblasts. There is room for improvement in the organization of the groat harvest and in the fulfillment of the state plan for purchasing buckwheat and millet.

A good foundation for the next harvest is being laid in the Nonchernozem Zone, the Volga area, the Urals and Siberia. Throughout the country 41 million hectares are to be sown with winter wheat and rye. Over the past week the sown area has expanded by almost 6 million hectares. The sowing plan has been fulfilled on schedule in Altayskiy Kray, Kurgan Oblast, Chelyabinsk, Novosibirsk and Omsk Oblast.

"Unfortunately many farms which have already begun the winter sowing have been forced to carry it out without using fertilizers. Let me use this opportunity to call on the partners in the agro-industrial complex -- the production associations Tolyattiazot, Novgorodazot, Sumgait Superfosfatniy and Aktyubinsk Khimzavod -- to accelerate their dispatch of fertilizers to the countryside and to eliminate their backlog in mineral fertilizer supplies."

'ARBITRARY' BEHAVIOR UPSETS UNIT MORALE

PM301030 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Aug 83 Second Edition pp 2-3

[Article by candidate of philosophical sciences Colonel I. Volkov, lecturer with the Red Banner Urals Military District political directorate, under the rubric "Social Facets of Military Building": "Moral Education"]

[Excerpt] The effectiveness of moral education is determined by its activeness, drive, and militancy. This is all the more obvious in that individual phenomena incompatible with the requirements of communist morality are sometimes encountered in our Army and Navy environment. To this day, for example, instances of window dressing and exaggerated reporting and attempts to embezzle socialist property have not been definitively eradicated. Sometimes these negative phenomena take the form of gifts of various kinds to officials involved in checking and of every kind of attempt to win them over. Need it be said how alien such actions are to the requirements of our laws and the norms of communist morality.

The regulation relationships between servicemen which exist in some places are incompatible with these requirements and norms. Particular harm is done to our common cause when commanders and chiefs resort to such relationships. Even the most minor instances of arbitrary behavior must be most severely denounced and most resolutely halted.

The CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum stressed the great force of the moral example set by the communist, especially the leader-communist. He is always visible to the masses and, the higher the post he holds, the greater his responsibility. Understandably, this conclusion also applies to command and political cadres and all military leaders. The personal example contains a moral ideal and acts as a standard of conduct.

Experience attests that officers who set an example of high morality enjoy unquestioned authority among the personnel. Such officers' words do not vary with their deeds, and they are uncompromising in their exactingness toward themselves and their subordinates.

Exactingness in a commander, which is a reliable barrier to the violation of moral norms, has nothing in common with rudeness or a disrespectful attitude to subordinates. Yet this pernicious, intolerable practice still exists. There is no doubt that officers who follow these methods of dealing with their subordinates are obviously violating both the norms of our socialist communal life and the norms of our martial ethics.

But what kind of personal example can be set by an officer who fails to see his subordinate as a man with his own joys and sorrows, successes and setbacks? Such officers forget that their subordinate has his own "red letter days" -- his birthday, or the day he joined the party or the Komsomol. They do not know how their subordinates live, seldom meet with them "outside the ranks," as they say, never have heart to heart talks with the men and are indifferent to their needs, health, and family welfare.

Educational work is effective when it is built on a profound and comprehensive knowledge of people, a knowledge of the factors influencing their mood and behavior. Actually, that is how experienced commanders act. For instance, in the excellent-rated company under the command of Captain O. Nikolayev, weekly sergeants' conferences begin by hearing section commanders' reports on the conduct and mood of their subordinates.

These reports and the ensuing assessments are made more specific and supplemented by the platoon deputy commanders and the company warrant officer. These hearings and the collective discussion of the state of affairs in subunits enhance the sergeants' responsibility, arm officers with additional information about each serviceman, and make it possible to predict their conduct better, determine more precisely the most effective measures for influencing each man, perform individual educational work more effectively, and ensure a healthy moral atmosphere in the military collective.

The creation of such an atmosphere and the formation of correct public opinion and cohesion in the collective constitute a task of paramount importance. Its successful solution largely depends on work with the sergeants and with the party and Komsomol aktiv and on ensuring the latter's exemplariness in training and discipline and committed participation in discussing the state of affairs in the subunit and in combating violators of moral norms and military regulations, including those with a liking for liquor, and bogus authorities who try to establish their own "order" in the collective. Work on the eradication of these phenomena and on the consolidation of discipline produces the greatest effect when not only the commanders but all members of the military collective become direct participants in it, when the commander and the collective act harmoniously.

The further consolidation of the troops and naval forces' morale and the personnel's moral tempering require a comprehensive approach and combined ideological educational and organizational work by commanders, staffs, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations. This must be thoughtful, precisely planned work which takes into account the conditions, features, and tasks of a particular military collective and encompasses all aspects of the men's activity, including their domestic life, leisure, and aesthetic interests, and the sphere of their family relations.

It is toward precisely such work that the materials and decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum direct us.

IMPROVEMENTS IN MILITARY CONSTRUCTION WORK URGED

PM312000 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Aug 83 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Marshal of Engineering troops N. Shestopalov, USSR deputy defense minister for construction and billeting of troops: "With a Sense of Responsibility"]

[Text] Today the working people of our country and the multimillion collective of builders celebrate Construction Worker's Day. The whole Soviet people pays a tribute of deep respect and gratitude to those who on their construction sites in any weather, often in uninhabited regions and in severe climatic conditions, build factories and plants, roads and bridges, apartment blocs, cultural and consumer facilities, and defense installations.

Along with all Army and Navy personnel, the working people on military construction sites take pride in the remarkable successes of the Soviet people in implementing the majestic plans of communist creation. There is a substantial share of their labor in all the achievements to implementing the construction program set out by the 26th CPSU Congress and by subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

As the USSR defense minister, Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Ustinov, has emphasized on a number of occasions, today it is impossible to guarantee our Armed Forces' high state of combat readiness without the great work done by the military construction workers.

Military construction workers are celebrating their professional holiday in an atmosphere of high political and labor enthusiasm evoked by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum. They unanimously support the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, and they see their duty in implementing with honor the tasks assigned them to further strengthen the economic and defense might of our motherland.

In the 2 and 1/2 years of the 11th Five-Year Plan important projects have been built, reconstructed, and repaired by their hands. New instructional premises, cultural and consumer facilities, and other installations essential to boosting the combat readiness of units and subunits have been commissioned. In the present 5-year plan great attention is being paid to improving the architectural appearance of military townships, erecting buildings with an improved layout and finish, raising comfort levels, and comprehensively developing military townships. It has become the rule that sports installations, cultural centers, hospitals, schools, and kindergartens -- everything essential for the normal work and relaxation of the personnel and servicemen's families -- are erected expeditiously along with the basic installations.

On the whole the successful implementation of capital construction tasks and plans has created a good basis for stepping up the pace of construction production, for the extensive introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and advanced experience, for the further industrialization and mechanization of construction, and for the growth of labor productivity. The socialist competition launched on the initiative of the Red Banner Odessa Military District's military construction workers under the slogan "Efficient and High-Quality Work, Maximum Use of Production Reserves" is acquiring ever increasing scope.

The results for the first half-year show that we have all the conditions necessary for the successful resolution of the 1983 production tasks. On the eve of the holiday many collectives of military construction organizations have reported the ahead-of-schedule commissioning of new apartment blocks, buildings for social and cultural and consumer use, and other important projects.

In the vanguard of the competing collectives are those from the construction directorates of the Odessa, Belorussian, Moscow, and Central Asian Military Districts and the Northern Fleet, and from the organizations led by Comrades V. Dukhin, V. Sukhov, M. Gromenko, A. Popov, V. Bezmenov, A. Novosardov, Yu. Rossomakhov, and M. Makerov, along with the enterprises led by Comrades V. Vakhrushev and B. Flerov. The workers of billet-maintenance [kvartirno-ekspluatatsionnyy] organs and planning organizations have worked well.

Many military construction workers, teams, subunits, and units are striving to fulfill the annual target with a reduced manpower, for the right to be called an economical and thrifty team, and to achieve the ahead-of-schedule commissioning of buildings and installations, the high quality of construction work, and the highest possible labor productivity. All these initiatives and undertakings promote the successful fulfillment of plans and socialist pledges.

Positive experience has been accumulated of the wide use of the educational potential of socialist competition in the struggle for the honor, dignity, irreproachable behavior, and firm discipline of the military construction workers, the rallying of military collectives, and the observance of the norms of communist morality and military ethics.

The party is making new demands on the organization of competition and the improvement of its forms.

The main thing now is to increase the quality of output and to improve the use of production capacities and of all types of resources. Competition must more actively promote the molding of a conscientious and skilled worker thinking along state lines. To develop socialist competition still further, to support and disseminate valuable experience, and to create all the conditions for those in competition to fulfill their pledges is the party duty and service obligation of leaders at all levels and the vital affair of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations.

Construction has long proved the ideal environment for applying a method which allows labor collectives to execute volumes of work within tighter deadlines and with less material expenditure than stipulated by the normatives. I have in mind the team contract. Around 42 percent of the volume of construction and installation work in the country is executed by this progressive method, and by the end of 1983 it is planned to take this figure to no less than 49 percent.

The number of teams working to the method of Hero of Socialist Labor N. Zlobin has grown considerably even in military construction units. Well organized is the work of autonomous financing teams in the construction directorates of the Belorussian, Odessa, and Kiev Military Districts, and in the organizations led by Comrades A. Korytko, L. Smirnov, V. Pashkin, V. Bezmenov, A. Gorovatskiy, and V. Sukhov. The team contract method is employed here for up to 40 percent of the volume of construction and installation work.

For 10 years now the autonomous financing team of bricklayers and installation workers led by Soviet Army worker I. Linnik has been working in the Kiev Military District, in the chief of works directorate led by Colonel of Technical Service M. Makerov. The team, like the chief of works directorate as a whole, incidentally, achieves high labor productivity and fine qualitative indicators every year. It is also worth noting that in this collective contract teams' cadre turnover is excluded, and that a healthy moral and ethical climate and an atmosphere of comradely assistance and mutual aid and firm discipline are firmly established in them.

What is at the root of the successful work of the autonomous financing teams of this chief of works directorate? Above all the fact that all work with contract teams is built here on a carefully conceived planned organizational basis. Together with the party and trade union committees the administration of the chief of works directorate is working intensively to consolidate the existing teams, further reduce construction costs and schedules, save building materials, and improve the quality of construction.

A special place in the whole vital activity of the collective is given over to questions of the organization and improvement of socialist competition among contract teams, and to the introduction of progressive forms and methods of labor on construction sites. The great and purposeful work of the leader of the chief of works directorate and of the party organization is producing fine end results: The collective has on more than one occasion been awarded the challenge Red Banner of the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Central Committee of the sectorial trade union.

At the same time, in spite of the good results and positive effect, the team contract method is still being slowly introduced on military construction sites. This must be said of the construction directorates of the Transbaykal and Turkestan Military Districts, the Pacific Ocean Fleet, and the organizations led by Comrades Yu. Shesterov, V. Moysyuk, and G. Volynskiy. In these collectives only 10 to 20 percent of the work volume is executed by the progressive method, and the switching of teams to contract work is implemented with no regard for available capabilities, people's experience, or the material base.

Yet the value of the team form of organizing and paying for labor and of work according to a single job order surely lies in the fact that every collective and each of its member works better, better utilizes equipment and materials, and achieves more weighty qualitative and quantitative results.

The years of the current 5-year plan have been for military construction units a period of intensive development of their own construction base. In the fleets and in many districts, modern industrial enterprises with highly productive equipment have been built, and a string of plants is being reconstiucted. This has made it possible to significantly raise the level of prefabrication of building structures, improve the quality of projects under construction, and cut construction deadlines. This year we have seen some improvement in the economic indicators, a rise in the profitability of military construction organizations, and a drop in nonproduction expenditure.

Guided by the decisions of the 26th party congress and of the November (1982) and June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, military construction workers assess their achievements exactingly and critically. Today we are talking above all about increasing the efficiency and quality of production via the maximum use of internal reserves. Individual construction collectives are, by dint of the feeble organization of production and inefficient use of manpower and material and technological resources, failing to fulfill their target for increased labor productivity, which has an adverse effect on construction deadlines and economics. It is precisely the neglect of this important matter that is preventing the construction workers of the Volga, Ural, Transcaucasus, and Transbaykal Military Districts and the Black Sea fleet, and the construction organizations led by Comrades V. Moysyuk, V. Krivenko, and V. Katunin working effeciently and taking their place among the best.

Billeting construction organs have increased responsibility for fulfilling the plans for the construction of accommodation and sociocultural projects. Each case of the violation of construction deadlines on these projects is seen as a serious violation of party and state discipline. We will continue to pursue this line persistently and to be intolerant of instances of the nonfulfillment of established tasks.

In the campaign to raise work efficiency and quality, achieve high results in socialist competition, and reinforce military and labor discipline, a decisive role is played by the ideological and political education work of commanders, political organs, and party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations. A new boost was given to the campaign by the decisions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenun and by the propositions, conclusions. and directives contained in the speech at the plenum by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. Perceiving them as a militant action program, the communists of military construction units are taking every measure to ensure a still closer link between ideological work and the life and practical affairs of the units and subunits.

Military construction units have at their disposal everything necessary to successfully instill in military construction works a feeling of high responsibility for the work entrusted them, of industriousness, discipline, and the readiness to execute an assignment of the party, government, or the USSR minister of defense. The officer corps has been considerably strengthened in recent years. The educational and cultural level of military construction workers has risen. The party organizations of military construction sites have strengthened both ideologically and organizationally, and party influence on the resolution of production tasks has intensified.

The working people of military construction sites actively participate in the country's sociopolitical life.

Many have been elected to leading party organs and have become deputies to people's soviets.

Many military construction veterans, Great Patriotic War participants, and mentors work in construction organizations and educate the youth. They generously share their rich experience and pass on the baton of their glorious combat and labor achievements. Local party and soviet organizations, the central press, and workers in television, radio, the movies, theaters, and creative unions and organizations actively participate in the education of military construction workers.

The growth in the complexity and scale of the tasks facing military construction units dictates the necessity of further improving the work style and methods of the leadership cadres.

The military construction works mount their labor vigil with enthusiasm and a mood of high patriotism. They are fully resolved to make via their shock work a worthy contribution to implementing the historic tasks of the 26th party congress and to guarantee the further raising of the troops' combat readiness and an improvement in the day-to-day living conditions of Army and Navy personnel.

MILITARY CADRES' SCIENTIFIC WORLD OUTLOOK VIEWED

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[Article by Lieutenant General B. Utkin, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate: "The Scientific World Outlook of Military Cadres"]

[Text] The scope and depth of work to implement the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenums are growing throughout our country, in the party, and in labor and military collectives. The political atmosphere in the country is characterized by the further rallying of Soviet people around the Leninist party, its Central Committee, and the Central Committee Politburo headed by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. Working people in cities and villages and Army and Navy servicemen fully approve and support the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy.

The main content of the party's and people's activity in present-day conditions is to improve developed socialism. Major large-scale tasks face our society along this path. In the process of resolving them, ideological work is coming increasingly to the fore. In this connection the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum noted the need to resolutely bring ideological, educational, and propagandist work up to the level of the major, complex tasks that are being resolved in the process of improving developed socialism.

I.

The formation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook in Soviet people -- and that means in our military cadres too -- is the unshakable foundation of communist education. Molding and developing a communist world outlook in military cadres means arming them with scientific knowledge, first and foremost knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, and with the immortal ideas contained in the works of the founders of scientific communism. Only our revolutionary teaching, V.I. Lenin stressed, gives "people an integral world outlook incompatible with any superstition, any reaction, or any defense of bourgeois oppression" (Complete Collected Works, Vol 23, p 43).

Mastering revolutionary theory means attentively following its creative development and being familiar with everything new that emerges within it.

It is first and foremost a question of the in-depth mastery and skillful application of the provisions and conclusions contained in the materials of the 24th-26th party congresses, CPSU Central Committee plenums, and the speeches of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The elaboration of the concept of developed socialism and of ways of increasing production efficiency in the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the posing of the question of the formation of the classless structure of society within the historical framework of the first phase of communism, the deepening of our ideas about the content of the nationalities question at the present stage and about the improvement of socialist civilization, socialist statehood, and democracy -- these and other theoretical generalizations substantially enrich our world outlook.

The fundamental basis of Soviet people's activity in the process on improving developed socialism consists of their awareness of the need for urgent qualitative changes in the sphere of production forces and production relations, their correct assessment of the multifarious phenomena within the country and in the world arena, and their active life stance.

It is quite obvious that our military cadres must be fully conversant with the new theoretical generalizations and conclusions about the ways of improving developed socialism. At the same time it is equally obvious that military cadres' world outlook ideas about society will be incomplete without a profound mastery of Leninist teaching on war and the army, war and peace, and the defence of the socialist fatherland.

The vast majority of our body of officers have mastered the fundamentals of this very rich teaching. But it is also important to be able to link its provisions and conclusions organically with the contemporary historical situation. This applies to the Leninist definition of the nature of war, the Leninist criteria for distinguishing between just, progressive wars and unjust, reactionary wars, and Leninist teaching on the relationship between war and revolution, the need to defend socialist gains, and the internationalist nature of that defense. The officer's world outlook is substantially broadened by Leninist teaching on imperialism and the conclusions of the CPSU and the fraternal communist and workers parties on the particular features of contemporary imperialism, its aggressive nature, the causes of the present sharp exacerbation of the international situation, and the most important trends in its development.

It is extremely important for our officers cadres to be well acquainted with the laws, natural tendenices, nature, and peculiarities of contemporary warfare and the dialectics of the development of the military art itself. Only on this basis is it possible to correctly determine the most effective ways of training and educating servicemen, mastering and utilizing weapons and hardware, exercising leadership and control of troops and naval forces, and pursuing the struggle for their high combat readiness.

An important element in one's world outlook is his attitudes (first and foremost evaluative) toward current social processes and events and toward the people around him and their actions. And these attitudes are expressed in moral categories and norms and in moral awareness. An officer's moral awareness is formed in the process of practical activity, in the struggle to fulfill the tasks of combat and political training and pledges in socialist competition, and in the struggle against shortcomings, immoral actions, and violations of military discipline and Soviet laws.

V.I. Lenin used to point out that only officers who have emerged from among the people and have been educated in the spirit of loyalty to communist ideals will be able to establish socialism firmly in the Army.

Today they are called upon to act in accordance with the particular features and requirements of developed socialism, and this means they must know those features and requirements well. That is why it is necessary to develop in every way among our officers and generals a demand for theory, an interest in it, and a liking for it.

II.

The formation and development of the world outlook of military cadres presuppose the transformation of the knowledge acquired into convictions and guidance for concrete action. An officer's ideological commitment is expressed in his conscious attitude toward Marxist-Leninist theory, his boundless devotion to the party's cause, the cause of communism, his high degree of sociopolitical activeness, and his exemplary fulfillment of his civil and military duty and his service duties. Ideological commitment forms a reliable basis for the individual's moral purity and militant implacability toward hostile ideology and alien morality.

In order to become conviction, knowledge must by philosophically interpreted, experienced, and mastered not only with the mind, but with the heart. An effective, well tried means is to increase the military and service activeness of officers and generals, involve them in public life, and cultivate in them an active life stance and Leninist work style.

At the present stage it is particularly important for the military leader to have a heightened awareness of his social duty and personal responsibility, an inquisitive mind, and highly developed professional and moral qualities. He must possess a feeling for what is new, high party principles and practicality, the ability to self-critically evaluate work results, broad erudition, competence, initiative, and discipline, and sensitivity toward people and the ability to unite them to resolve the tasks set. A high level of political culture, a statesmanlike breadth of outlook in relation to one's task, and unshakable ideological convictions form a reliable basis for these qualities.

Ideological commitment and firm world outlook and methodological stands on the part of cadres make it possible to create a genuinely scientific base for all their activity and provide scope for the operation of the laws of socialism.

The full, effective operation of the laws of socialism depends directly on the subjective factor and on people's conscious activity. While noting the objective nature of these laws, Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, in the article "Karl Marx' Teaching and Some Questions of Socialist Building in the USSR," points to the need to eliminate any kind of attempts to exercise management by methods alien to socialism's nature. The Leninist style is incompatible with subjectivism and creeping empiricism, blatant bureaucracy and fuss, and debates and discussions in place of real action.

This applies fully to military cadres. All their activity is connected with the implementation of the party's policy for improving and defending developed socialism, educating servicemen in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideas, and establishing in military collectives socialist ideology, communist morality, culture, discipline, and the Soviet way of life. There must be no miscalculations in such an important matter.

At the present stage of the Soviet Armed Forces' development, when their significance as the chief guarantor of the curbing of imperialist forces' aggressive aspirations is particularly evident and the complexity of tasks in all salients of the safeguarding of the motherland's reliable defense has increased considerably, demands on military cadres are increasing sharply.

In the period since the 26th CPSU Congress considerable work has been done to ensure a correct understanding by all servicemen of the heightened danger of war and of their military duty to the motherland. Military cadres, and party organizations consistently fulfill the party's demands for increasing the armed forces' combat potential.

III.

Implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum, commanders, political organizers, and party organizations in the Army and Navy have stepped up their exactingness toward military cadres and have at the same time begun to show more concern for servicemen and their families. They wage a persistent struggle against existing instances of bureaucracy and negligence. This substantially increases the efficiency and efficaciousness of ideological and political education work and improves the results of military activity.

The formation and development of military cadres' world outlook are achieved by means of an integral system of activity by organs of higher military and political leadership, military councils, commanders and chiefs of all levels, political organizers, and party and Komsomol organizations.

Higher military education institutions are an important component of this system. In recent years the works of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V.I. Lenin have begun to be studied in greater depth at these institutions. Comprehensive plans are drawn up for the communist education of students and members of courses for their entire period of study. Many academies have introduced a comprehensive examination on "Topical Problems of Marxist-Leninist Theory and the History and Policy of the CPSU." A problem-solving approach to studies and technical study aids are being actively introduced. Many good text books have been compiled and published. The system of improving teachers' qualifications is improving.

At the same time there are still many unexploited reserves and even shortcomings in the educational activity of military educational institutions from the viewpoint of the formation of a communist world outlook. Ineffective forms of study have not been eradicated. Lectures sometimes have only weak links with the pressing problems of today.

VUZes must increase their ideological influence on the social sciences teaching staff, improve the standard -- from a world outlook viewpoint -- of courses conducted by faculties of military and specialized disciplines, and strictly observe the principle of party orientation of teaching. In scientific research work great flexibility and relevance and the ability to single out what is more important for the armed forces' development at the present stage and to ensure that research is oriented toward the future are more necessary than ever before.

In the years since the 26th CPSU Congress certain positive shifts have taken place in the Marxist-Leninist training of officer cadres. The most important is the more profound understanding by officers of party policy and their more conscious, active desire to constantly enhance combat readiness. The selection and training of group leaders and teachers at universities of Marxism-Leninism have also improved. Attendance at classes has increased. Monitoring of Communists' studies by party organizations, party committees, and bureaus has become stricter.

Nevertheless the political education of military cadres is still not without the shortcomings that became more clearly visible in the light of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum decisions. Certain officers, particularly the young ones, undervalue independent work.

Elements of formalism and empty theorizing at classes have not been overcome. The elimination of these defects is an immediate task.

From the 1983-1984 academic year the Marxist-Leninist training of officers and political studies for other categories of servicemen will follow new plans. These plans incorporate the ideological and political wealth of the materials and decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speeches, and his work "Karl Marx' Teaching and Some Questions of Socialist Building of the USSR."

The new political study plans, which cover 2 years, devote more attention to moral and military education and the problems of achieving close unity of ideological work and organizational party work. Students are oriented toward the in-depth study of CPSU's domestic, foreign, and military policy. The first classes in Marxist-Leninist training are devoted to the study of the problems of improving developed socialism and reliably ensuring the conditions for building communism.

Study plans for the Marxist-Leninist training of officers and generals include questions of the management of ideological and political education work and the processes of teaching and educating servicemen. Theoretical problems are seen in close association with the tasks of strengthening the armed forces' combat might and increasing their educational role. The plans are aimed at stepping up ideological education and organizational activity by command and political personnel.

For the professorial and teaching staff and employees of scientific institutions, topics have been elaborated for theoretical seminars, oriented toward the study of world outlook and methodological problems in the further improvement and defense of developed socialism.

Good political study plans are just the start of major work. Commanders, political organizers, and party organizations have much to do in order to fulfill these plans to a high standard and implement the demands of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum.

Particular significance is attached to the skillful propagandization of our historical achievements, the advantages of the new system, and the party's foreign policy activity. It is necessary to step up attention toward the study of problems of the ideological struggle in the world arena, to resolutely expose false, subversive propaganda and the antipopular policy of imperialism, and to inculcate in officers intolerance of bourgeois ideology and morality, high political vigilance, and a class approach toward the analysis of the urgent problems of today. All this requires still greater militancy and assertiveness in our ideological work. It is a question of ensuring that political education measures are of a counterpropagandist nature.

An essential condition of the improvement of the quality and results of theoretical education is the development of its active forms and methods. In recent years some experience has been accumulated in this area. The discussion of resumes and reports, debates, training concentrating on a specific area, and scientific and practical conferences have become an established part of practice everywhere.

The improvement of the quality of political education presupposes a definite improvement in the training of group leaders and propagandists. The main thing is to make effective use of the time allotted for seminars and other planned classes and ensure that group leaders and propagandists constantly increase their knowledge and methodological expertise and the power of their personal example.

Practice shows that the best successes in work with leaders of all forms of political education are achieved when it has priority attention from commanders and when it is personally organized and conducted by the chief of the political section (the political deputy commander). A political worker of this rank is best able to achieve a unity of ideological and organizational party activity and ensure that it exercises a greater influence on the achievement of big results in the struggle to improve combat readiness and strengthen military discipline.

The CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum gave party committees, political organizers, and party organizations the task of improving the leadership of ideological work. They are called upon to conduct an in-depth, comprehensive analysis of the quality of classes and their effectiveness, select from their vast experience the forms and methods which are of most value today, and improve the monitoring of student education and propagandists' work. This constitutes a big reserve for further intensifying military cadres' ideological tempering.

IV.

Officers' and generals' practical activity and their creative efforts are directed primarily toward the qualitative fulfillment of combat and political training tasks and the improvement of the combat readiness of units, ships and formations. Combat readiness, which is the main indicator of the qualitative status of troops and the navy, is an accumulation of the results of multifaceted, hard educational work with military cadres.

"Every general, admiral, and officer and every leader cum Communist," USSR Defense Minister Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov insists, "must be concerned about the state of his forces. Are they capable of carrying out a combat order immediately? Has everything been done to ensure that they can act efficiently to repulse any aggression and reliably defend their motherland?"

For combat training to be even more effective in terms of molding world outlook positions and life principles two conditions are needed, it would seem. First, the principle of teaching the troops what is needed in a war, without oversimplification and indulgence, should be an absolute law of combat training. Second, the multifaceted service activity of military cadres, like the combat training of personnel, should be packed with an ever increasing wealth of ideological political content and accompanied by an increase in their social and political activeness. Communist leaders must critically assess what has been achieved in combat readiness and show greater initiative. In party work -- organizational and ideological -- the most important question is the maintenance of high combat readiness.

One very important task arising out of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum is the task of further strengthening military collectives and creating a healthy moral atmosphere in them. All commanders, staffs, political organizers and party organizations must wage the struggle for strong discipline on a broad front. The task requires good combat training organization, orderly service, more effective political and military education, and constant concern for people.

All ranks of leaders must justify their high status through selfless labor, absolute honesty and lofty moral qualitites. Their ideological maturity, active life stance, competence, personal example, persistence in attaining goals, great and uncompromising demands on themselves and their subordinates, and reliance on party organizations create a genuine party basis for one-man command. Strengthening it, giving all-round support to exacting commanders, and displaying concern for their authority is an important task for political organizers and party organizations.

The organizational activity of commanders, staffs, and chiefs of law-enforcement services and organs, closely combined with educational work, creates a sound basis for further strengthening discipline and improving organization and order. At the same time, a leader's inability to ensure proper discipline in the collective and in the work sector assigned to him has always been a sign that he is not suited to the post. We must adopt a stricter and more searching approach to the assessment of what has been achieved and a more principled attitude toward shortcomings and try harder to overcome them.

Military cadres reacted with profound understanding and responsibility to the instructions issued by Comrade Yu.V. Andropov who said at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum: "We will continue to do everything necessary to safeguard the security of our country, our friends and allies and will continue to increase the combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces -- a powerful factor in curbing imperialist reaction's aggressive aspirations."

Military cadres are honorably justifying the party's confidence in them and are uniting military ranks beneath its Leninist banner. They are tirelessly refining their political, moral, and work qualities, persistently strengthening the motherland's defense capability, and vigilantly watching over the gains of socialism.